

DRAFT

Macro MS 5: A Historical Reconstruction

The formation, the character, and the protracted dispersal of the collections of the Reverend Dr Cox Macro (1683–1767) could very well form the subject of an extended monograph. Inventories of his house and library show that he accumulated numerous manuscripts and rare books, a valuable ensemble of old master and contemporary paintings, drawings and sculpture, and appreciable quantities of coins, medals, autographs, historical documents and charters, together with orientalia, various archaeological and ethnographic *objets*, and some ‘curiosities’ of natural history. Items in several of these categories have since been recognised as possessing outstanding historical value and significance. All of them were stored in, or adorned his residence at Little Haugh Hall, Norton, in Suffolk, a few miles east of his native Bury St Edmunds.¹ If Macro’s name is still heard regularly today, it is chiefly among literary scholars and students of early drama, since he was an early owner of the manuscripts of three late medieval English morality plays—almost the entire surviving corpus of the genre—known collectively as the Macro Plays since they were first published together under that title early in the twentieth century.² While they were in Macro’s possession the plays formed parts of a much larger composite volume that was broken up soon after a significant proportion of his manuscript collection as a whole came into the possession of the Norfolk collector Hudson Gurney in the course of 1821.³ In the catalogue of the Macro manuscripts published when the collection was put up for sale in February 1820 the composite manuscript that included the plays was listed as item 5; and though the volume had not borne this number during Macro’s lifetime, it has since become convenient to refer to it as Macro MS 5, and to its now scattered constituent parts as components under that heading.⁴ This is because Gurney had each of the sections into which he divided the composite volume uniformly bound in blue morocco, decorated with his coat of arms,

¹ Macro’s residence is described by S. Tymms, ‘Little Haugh Hall, Norton’, *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology*, 2 (1859), 279–87 and by N. Scarfe, ‘Little Haugh Hall, Suffolk’, *Country Life*, 5 June 1958, 1238–41. Its prospect was painted in c. 1720 by Peter Tillemans of Antwerp, who worked for long periods in Macro’s household; see A. W. Moore, *Dutch and Flemish Painting in Norfolk* (London, 1988), pp. 125–6 and pl. xxv. Cox Macro himself is portrayed standing behind Tillemans in ‘The Artist’s Studio’ (c. 1716), *ibid.*, p. 124. For recent biographical accounts of him see S. Brewer’s article in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, and her *The Early Letters of Bishop Richard Hurd 1739–1762* (Woodbridge, 1995), pp. xxx–xxxii.

² *The Macro Plays*. 1. *Mankind* (ab. 1475) 2. *Wisdom* (ab. 1460) 3. *The Castle of Perseverance* (ab. 1425), ed. F. J. Furnivall and A. W. Pollard, Early English Text Society, Extra Series, 91 (London, 1904), re-edited by M. Eccles, *The Macro Plays*, EETS OS 262 (London, 1969). The manuscripts are now in Washington DC, Folger Shakespeare Library, MS V.a.354, and have been published in facsimile: *The Macro Plays . . . A Facsimile Edition with Facing Transcription*, ed. D. Bevington (New York and Washington DC, 1972).

³ Not 1820, the date usually given. The Macro manuscripts had been offered for sale in that year by the London dealer James Christie, and it was only after some months of negotiation that they were eventually bought en bloc by Gurney’s fellow collector Dawson Turner, on the understanding that Gurney would take a proportion of them; see the series of letters from Turner to Gurney preserved in Norwich, Norfolk Record Office, MC 2847/N1. I am grateful to Gail McM. Gibson (who is preparing a more detailed study of this aspect of the Turner-Gurney correspondence) for drawing the exact date of the transaction to my attention.

⁴ *A Catalogue of Ancient Manuscripts* [etc.] . . . collected by the Rev. Dr. Cox Macro [etc.] . . . (London, 1820).

and lettered 'MACRO. M.S.S. No. 5' in gold, and with the constituent parts similarly lettered respectively as 'ARTICLE. 1., 2., 3.' and '4. & 5.'. As we shall see, items 1, 2 and 4–5 remain in their Gurney bindings, while item 3, consisting of the Macro Plays, was disbound to be photographed for the facsimile published in 1972; the Gurney binding is now kept separately.

Cox Macro died at Norton on 2 February 1767, most of his estate, including the library, passing to his daughter Mary.⁵ Some time during the preceding twelve months he received what must have been an extended visit from a nephew of his, a now largely forgotten antiquary named John Wilson, who resided at Broomhead, on the edge of the Peak District, between Sheffield and Penistone.⁶ Wilson shared many of his uncle's interests, and during his visit drew up a series of catalogues of Macro's collections, including one devoted to the manuscripts and the choicest early printed books in the library at Little Haugh. Since these materials seem hitherto to have attracted little attention in this, their original form, a brief account of their contents may be given.⁷ They consist of five booklets bound within one stiff cardboard cover, lettered 'Wilson MSS Vol. CXX', in what is probably a nineteenth century hand: I (24 pages) is a catalogue of Macro's 'Deeds, ancient Grants & Rolls'; II consists of 'Extracts from Old Letters Magazines &c. about the Macros, Rebows, Wilsons, Coxes & others' (small sheets and slips, about 30 leaves); III (55 pages) is a catalogue of Macro's 'Curiosities, Medals, Coins, Paintings, Drawings, Busts, Original Letters & Autographs; with a Description of the House & Garden'; IV (unpaginated, about 20 leaves) consists of 'Extracts from Old MSS in Dr Macro's possession'; and V (37 pages), which chiefly concerns us here, is 'A Catalogue of D^r. Macro's Manuscripts, & ancient printed Books. 1766'.⁸

It is in the last of these items that we find the earliest description of the volume that was to be given number 5 when a large part of Macro's manuscript collection was put up for sale in 1820. In Wilson's catalogue the books are classified according to their size (reflecting presumably how were shelved in Macro's library), and the collection in question is listed as no. 93 among the 'MSS Folio':

93 IVVENALJS or Juvenal, very Anc^t, wrote upon Vellom, ab^t y^e time of Edw^d. y^e 1st. The Capital Letters of each Line in a Row by themselves apart from y^e rest of y^e line. — Leges Inæ regis. Latin, a good hand, wrote ab^t. Hen y^e 4th Time. — A Treatise on Alchemy, very

⁵ Macro's son Edward (1719–1766) predeceased his father by a year, and died deeply in debt. He had become estranged from his father, and had apparently been disinherited by him some years previously; see Brewer, *Letters of Bishop Richard Hurd*, pp. xxxiii–xxxv.

⁶ Wilson (d. 1783) was the son of Cox Macro's younger sister Mary. His antiquarian interests, and his voluminous collections at Broomhead, were described by Joseph Hunter in his *Hallamshire*; see *Hallamshire: The History and Topography of the Parish of Sheffield in the County of York*, new and enlarged edition by A. Gatty (London, 1869), pp. 471–3. The Macros and the Wilsons of Broomhead had long been cousins, as appears from the Macro pedigree given by Hunter (p. 423).

⁷ All of the items described here are now subsumed under the pressmark of Leeds, University of Leeds, Brotherton Library, Special Collections MS 295.

⁸ Joseph Hunter was allowed access to Wilson's muniment room at Broomhead Hall for some years from 1806, and it is evidently from this period that a clerk or amanuensis of his made the copy of Wilson's catalogue of the Macro manuscripts (now London, British Library, Additional MS 25473) that has sometimes been cited in recent times. Where Hunter's copyist reproduced what Wilson had written he or she was generally accurate, but there are significant omissions from the original, which deserves to be transcribed to modern standards—as indeed do Wilson's other catalogues of the Macro collections.

anc^t. — Old Poetry by Hyngham y^e Monk, written on paper. — An old Latin Treatise. — Some more old English Verses wrote on Paper.⁹

The composite manuscript thus described by John Wilson in 1766 remained, as far as we know, at Norton in Suffolk until shortly before the turn of the eighteenth century, at which time Macro's estate and collections passed, by descent and marriage, into the possession the Norwich merchant and M. P. John Patteson, as is shown in more detail below. At some point thereafter the Macro manuscripts were removed to Norwich, certainly before Patteson sold them there in 1820–21. Wilson's description itself returned with its compiler into obscurity at Broomhead Hall in Yorkshire, where another Yorkshire antiquary of the next generation, Joseph Hunter, eventually came across it in 1806, or soon after.

Cox Macro's will, drawn up in his own hand and dated 19 May 1766, took effect soon after his death on 2 February 1767, making his daughter Mary his sole legatee and executrix. In bequeathing to her all his real and personal estate he was particular in specifying how his library and some of his own writings should be preserved:

... strictly Charging her not to Sell the Library or Dispose of any of the Manuscripts, but let them continue where they are, and ... to take Care that my written Comments on the Old and New Testament may be carefully preserved for the constant use and benefit of the Family and never be alienated or Disposed of elsewhere.¹⁰

In the event, it seems that Mary Macro did not adhere altogether strictly to her father's will in respect of his manuscripts. Soon after his death a very large number of his early charters and ecclesiastical documents were given to John Wilson of Broomhead, a few of which were subsequently edited by Joseph Hunter for the Camden Society, in 1840.¹¹ Later, in March 1775 (and so not long before Mary Macro's death on 16

⁹ Leeds, Brotherton Library, Special Collections MS 295 (V), p. 15. Hunter's copyist followed Wilson's entry for this manuscript faithfully, apart from a couple of very minor details; BL Add. MS 25473, p. 8.

¹⁰ London, Kew, National Archives, Records of the Prerogative Court at Canterbury, Prob. 11/962/300, registered 19 December 1770. Cox Macro's own works preserved in manuscript were extensive, and were catalogued by John Wilson in 1766 under the heading 'MSS of y^e Doctor's own Writing'. They included '24 Large Quarto's being Annotations upon the Old & New Testament half bound ready for the Press. This is the last work he hath written'. In addition, under this heading, Wilson also saw 'About 200 other Volumes upon different Subjects, most of them Quarto's, others Octavo's, & Twelves. Neatly bound in ruff Calf, & half binding. The sev^l. Subjects they treat off, or, The Titles, Lettered upon y^e backs. Contained in two large Presses double classed' (Brotherton Special Collections MS 295 (V), p. 37). The present whereabouts of both of these bodies of Macro's writings are unknown. In 1971, what were described as 212 commonplace books of Cox Macro were deposited in the Manuscripts Department of Cambridge University Library, on indefinite loan, by the Borough Librarian of Bury St Edmunds. Though noted as such in the accessions register, these items were not given a number or numbers among the Additional Manuscripts, and (after repeated searches) they cannot now be traced in the Library building; I am grateful to Suzanne Paul of the Manuscripts Department for information on this point.

¹¹ *Ecclesiastical Documents . . . II. Charters from the Library of Dr. Cox Macro*, Camden Society, 8 (1840). Hunter described the circumstances in which the charters came into Wilson's possession in his introduction (pp. 46–8), and in later writings about Wilson and his collections gave their number as 'two or three hundred'; see 'Prefatory Letter to Wilson's Yorkshire Deeds' and 'A Memoir on the Origin, Descent and Alliances of the Ancient Family of Wilson of Broomhead', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 5 (1879), 64–8, 69–125. Wilson's manuscripts were sold in one lot at Sheffield, in 1843, to Thorpe, the London book dealer, and subsequently passed into the vast *fonds* of

August of that year) a number of Macro's monastic registers were in the hands of the Rev. Osmund Beauvoir, an associate of his during his lifetime.¹² Most of these volumes returned to the library at Little Haugh, but not, apparently, certain items, notably part of the fifteenth century register of Abbot Curteys of Bury St Edmunds, which resurfaced later in the sale of Craven Ord's collections in 1829.¹³

Notwithstanding these, and perhaps other possible 'leakages' of a minor kind, Cox Macro's manuscript collections appear to have remained largely intact until the sale of 1820–1. Three months after Cox Macro's death in February 1767 Mary Macro hastened to marry William Staniforth, a member of another Sheffield family (themselves connected to the Wilsons) to whom the Macros were already related; it was a match that had apparently been forbidden by her father during his lifetime. She was by this time already well into her forties, and there were to be no children of the marriage. The title to Little Haugh and its contents passed, as a consequence, to Staniforth's line, eventually coming to rest with his niece Elizabeth (b. 1760), who, in 1780 married John Patteson of Norwich, for many years a successful textile merchant and brewer, and sometime mayor and Member of Parliament for the city. The Pattesons obtained full possession of the estate at Norton in around 1797, but they were already familiar with the house, the pictures and Dr Macro's other collections from regular summer visits.¹⁴ Patteson's career however was halted by business failures and incipient bankruptcy during the second decade of the nineteenth century, obliging him to raise cash by selling parts of the Macro inheritance, beginning with the house at Norton and the Suffolk estates, followed by his own Norwich town house, and then his art collection (including some Macro items), in 1819. Most of Macro's printed books went to a Norwich bookseller, and in 1820, as we have seen, Patteson engaged the London dealer James Christie to dispose of the Macro manuscripts. The collection had by this time been removed to Norwich, where a detailed catalogue was drawn up and printed in February of that year, an advance copy of which reached Dawson Turner at Yarmouth on the 11th of that month.¹⁵

In the event, Patteson consigned for sale most, but not all of the Macro manuscripts that had come to him through his wife's inheritance. A significant group

Sir Thomas Phillipps at Cheltenham, to be dispersed piecemeal in the numerous Phillipps sales of the later nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

¹² Beauvoir, who was by this time headmaster of King's School, Canterbury, had shared some of Cox Macro's antiquarian interests, and had contributed manuscripts to his collections; see Brewer, *Early Letters of Bishop Richard Hurd*, p. 318 n. 7. J. Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century*, vol. ix (London, 1815), p. 352, quotes a letter of Beauvoir's to A. C. Ducarel, dated 27 March 1775, in which he states that 'Dr Macro's manuscripts . . . are in my hands', and listing five items that had presumably been lent to him (the reference can scarcely be taken to imply that Macro's entire manuscript library had been carted to Canterbury).

¹³ *Catalogue of the Curious and Valuable Library of Craven Ord Esq.* (London, 1829), lot 561. The volume was bought by Sir Frederic Madden for the British Museum, and is now London, British Library Additional MS 7096; in 1819 it had been deposited by Ord at the Museum for the use of Sir Henry Ellis (see ff. 1–3).

¹⁴ These, and many other details of Patteson's career may be found in the introduction to *The Great Tour of John Patteson 1778–1779*, edited by D. Cubitt et al., Norfolk Record Society, 67 (2003); see also Moore, *Dutch and Flemish Painting in Norfolk*, pp. 45–7.

¹⁵ See A. N. L. Munby, *The Cult of the Autograph Letter in England* (London, 1962), pp. 37–8ff., going on to quote some of Turner's correspondence with Christie over the sale. Turner was chiefly interested in Macro's remarkable collection of autograph items, which went on to form a centerpiece of his own collections; cf. D. McKitterick, 'Dawson Turner and Book Collecting' in *Dawson Turner: A Norfolk Antiquary and his Remarkable Family*, ed. N. Goodman (Chichester, 2007), pp. 67–110.

that was withheld (and there were probably others) was eventually given to Norwich Castle Museum by a descendant as late as 1961.¹⁶ The manuscript under discussion here, however, was listed among the ‘Classical MSS.’ in Christie’s 1820 catalogue:

5. A volume, containing:—Juvenalis, *MS. on vellum*—Leges Inæ Æthelstani, &c. (script. Tempore Henry II.)—Liber Alchemiæ.—Also three ancient Masques:—The Masque of Wisdom—The Masque of Mercy—The Masque of the Castel of p’severance

By agreement with Hudson Gurney, all of the manuscripts listed for sale in Christie’s catalogue, including this item, were bought as a single lot for £700 by Dawson Turner in March 1821, and the two collectors spent some time over the following months deciding how the collection should be divided between them. Their negotiations were concluded by the end of August of that year, and shortly afterwards, it may be assumed, Gurney’s share of the Macro collection was installed in the library of his newly built mansion at Keswick Hall, a few miles south west of Norwich.¹⁷ Lot 5 in the sale thus became Gurney’s, and came to be referred to as Macro MS 5. The exact date at which Gurney broke it up seems not have been recorded, but it was probably during the later 1820s, or in the 1830s. The first part of it to be published took the form of a skilled and accurate engraving of the now well known staging diagram that accompanies the text of the *Castle of Perseverance*, which appeared as soon as 1825, as a full page illustration in Thomas Sharp’s well documented account of medieval drama in Coventry.¹⁸ Just over a decade later Gurney permitted John Payne Collier to publish an extract from the play *Wisdom* in volume 10 of the Abbotsford Club’s publications, in 1837.¹⁹ Shortly before this, in June 1836, he had broken up another manuscript of his containing an early play, then Macro MS 115, for Collier’s convenience: it had included the unique copy of the sixteenth century interlude *Respublica*, but in this case Collier did not get round to publishing it until much later.²⁰ *Respublica* remains in its original Gurney binding of blue morocco with gilt

¹⁶ These manuscripts are described in N. R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, iii (Oxford, 1983), pp. 509–24. They do not appear in the 1820 sale catalogue, but some of them are identifiable in John Wilson’s 1766 listings of the Macro manuscripts. Other items described by Wilson but apparently not included in the 1820 sale remain to be accounted for.

¹⁷ Norwich, Norfolk Record Office, 2847/N1/10, /14, Dawson to Turner, 14 March and 29 August 1821. The lots taken by Turner were consisted chiefly, but not exclusively of Macro’s collections of autographs, while Gurney acquired most of the medieval manuscripts and the large miscellaneous collections of sixteenth and seventeenth century papers. Gurney later told J. E. B. Mayor that Turner’s lots were those numbered 2, 3, 12, 16, 20, 25–8, 33, 43, 64–6, 69–70, 90–1, 93–4, 96–7, 99, 106–8, 111, 122–3, 125–6, 128–9, 131–4, 137–9; see Mayor’s notes in the copy of the 1820 catalogue that is now Cambridge, St John’s College, Gg.12.23.

¹⁸ T. Sharp, *A Dissertation on the Pageants or Dramatic Mysteries Anciently Performed at Coventry* (Coventry, 1825), Pl. 2. Gurney already knew of Sharp’s interest in early drama at the time he acquired the Macro manuscripts, since Turner happened to mention it to him in the second of the letters cited in the preceding note.

¹⁹ *Mind, Will, and Understanding: A Morality. From the Macro MS. in the possession of Hudson Gurney Esq. F.S.A.*, Abbotsford Club vol. X (Edinburgh, 1837) contained, under this title, Collier’s transcription of the latter part of *Wisdom*, of which the Club had so far printed only the first 752 lines from the fragmentary text in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 133 (see below, n. 47).

²⁰ The latter portion of what was Macro MS 115 (ff. 195–358) is now Norwich, Norfolk Record Office MS 7197. The original manuscript (apart from ff. 360–87, containing *Respublica*) was still intact when W. D. Macray calendared the contents in *Historical Manuscripts Commission. Twelfth Report, Appendix, Part IX* (London, 1891), pp. 151–2. Inside the back cover Gurney gave the full title of *Respublica* and added ‘p. 360 — 387 — | was taken from the end of this volume to be | bound separately for the Inspection of | Mr Payne Collyer | June 15th 1836 | H. G.’. *Respublica* (the

tooling, identical in all respects to that provided for the individual components of Macro MS 5. It seems quite likely that MS 5 was broken up in similar circumstances to MS 115, and at about the same time.²¹

Once MS Macro 5 had been broken up its constituent elements were then in part rearranged, and uniformly rebound as four separate units: the Juvenal became 'MACRO. M.S.S. NO. 5 | ARTICLE. 1.'; the twelfth century manuscript of Anglo-Saxon laws became 'ARTICLE. 2.'; the three plays, two of which were bound together side by side within the Latin scientific material, and the third at the end of it, brought together 'ARTICLE. 3.'; and the Latin scientific texts themselves were brought together as 'ARTICLES. 4. & 5.' All four of these smaller manuscript units remained in Gurney's possession and that of his heirs until March 1936, when most of the Gurney manuscripts and some of the choicest printed books from the library at Keswick Hall were sold at auction in London by Messrs. Sotheby & Co.²² The Juvenal (lot 143) was sold to Quaritch for £43, and passed thereafter into private hands, eventually finding its way into institutional ownership in the library of Downside Abbey in 1995. The twelfth century manuscript containing Anglo-Saxon laws (a text now usually referred to as the *Quadripartitus*), lot 145, was bought for £80 by Maggs on behalf of the John Rylands Library, Manchester. Article 3, containing the three fifteenth century morality plays, appeared as lot 170, and was bought for £440 by Quaritch, for the Folger Shakespeare Library. Articles 4–5, consisting of scientific and pseudo-scientific texts of various dates from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century, was lot 73, bought by Court for 5 guineas; it also disappeared into private ownership for many years and eventually found a permanent home among the special collections in the library of the University of California, Los Angeles, in 2005.²³

Thanks to the fact that Cox Macro had through-foliated the original composite manuscript (as he had many others in his collection), it is possible to reconstruct it text by text, and in due course, quire by quire.²⁴ Following Macro's foliation, it appears that the sequence of the principal contents of Macro MS 5 when it was in his possession was as follows. Further evidence derived from textual irregularities and

manuscript of which is now Pforzheimer MS 40A, University of Texas, Austin, Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center) was eventually included as the third item in Collier's *Illustrations of Old English Literature* (London, 1866). Like the Macro 5 items, the binding of *Respublica* featured the Gurney arms surmounting lettering indicative of the provenance and the pressmark: 'SPELMAN. M.S.S. | MACRO. 115'; see *The Carl H. Pforzheimer Library: English literature, 1475–1700*, 3 vols. (New York, 1940), ii, p. 531 and Plate XIX.

²¹ The preface to the Abbotsford Club edition of the Macro section of *Wisdom* (see as in n. 19, p. 3), records a vote of thanks 'to Mr Gurney for his liberal loan of the MS.', which might also be taken to suggest the earlier morality plays too could by this time have been separated from the other materials in Macro MS 5, and lent to Collier.

²² *Catalogue of a Selected Portion of the Valuable Library and Collection of Manuscripts, the Property of Major Q. E. Gurney, D. L.* (London, 1936).

²³ A number of copies of the Sotheby's Gurney sale catalogue are accompanied by listings of the prices and buyers names, e.g. the one in Norwich Record Office. Further information about the subsequent provenances of Articles 1 and 4–5 from Macro MS 5 is given below.

²⁴ Cox Macro wrote a large, untidy hand, and the formation of his numerals, which is identical in his foliations and within texts that he wrote out, is distinctive; see for example his additions to London, British Library, Additional MS 23726 (extensive notes in his hand about Portugal, and foliation), Additional 23990 f. 75 (a letter to A. C. Ducarel, 1763) and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. Misc. e. 346 (personal account book, 1717–53). Norwich, Norfolk Record Office, MSS 7197, 7198 and 11292 are examples of miscellaneous antiquarian collections, containing papers of Sir Henry Spelman and others, put together and through-foliated by Macro.

lacunae, earlier ownership marks and annotations, added flyleaves, and traces of older bindings are taken into account in the more detailed accounts of the individual items below.

1. Folios 1–43. Vellum, Latin; Juvenal, *Satirae*, s. xiii². Article 1, now Stratton-on-the-Fosse, Downside Abbey MS 78294.
2. Folios 44–87. Vellum, Latin; *Quaripartitus*, imperfect, s. xii. Article 2, now Manchester, John Rylands University Library, MS Lat. 420.
3. Folios 88–97. Vellum, Latin; Pseudo-Aristotle, *De perfecto magisterio*; Razi (Muhammad Ibn Zakariya Al-Razi), *Liber secretorum* (*Kitab al-Asrar*), both imperfect, s. xiii. Articles 4 & 5[1], now part of Los Angeles, UCLA Library, Special Collections MS Rouse 51.
4. Folios 98–121. Paper, English; the play *Wisdom*, s. xv ex., in the hand of Thomas Hyngham, monk of Bury St Edmunds. Article 3[2], now part of Washington DC, Folger Shakespeare Library MS V.a.354.
5. Folios 122–34. Paper, English; the play *Mankind*, imperfect, s. xv ex., mostly in the hand of Thomas Hyngham. Article 3[1], now part of Washington DC, Folger Shakespeare Library MS V.a.354.
6. Folios 135–44. Paper, Latin; William of England, *De urina non visa*, s. xv/xvi. Articles 4 & 5[2], now part of Los Angeles, UCLA Library, Special Collections MS Rouse 51.
7. Folios 145–49. Paper, Latin. Miscellaneous medical and alchemical notes and receipts compiled by Thomas Oliver, physician, of Bury St Edmunds, some dated 8 December 1571. Articles 4 & 5[3(i)], now part of Los Angeles, UCLA Library, Special Collections MS Rouse 51.
8. Folios 150–53. Paper, Latin. *Liber aureus*, an alchemical treatise attributed (spuriously) to Roger Bacon, copy by Thomas Oliver, dated 25 April 1571. Articles 4 & 5[3(ii)], now part of Los Angeles, UCLA Library, Special Collections MS Rouse 51.
9. Folios 154–91. Paper, English. The play *The Castle of Perseverance*, s. xv^{2/4}. Article 3[3], now part of Washington DC, Folger Shakespeare Library MS V.a.354.

The first two of these manuscripts, the Juvenal and the *Quadripartitus*, reached Cox Macro as bibliographically discrete units; they became Hudson Gurney's Articles 1 and 2, and summary descriptions of them can be given quite straightforwardly. Those listed as 3 to 5 and 6 to 8 (or possibly 9), had already been assembled as two composite items by an earlier collector before they reached Macro. They were later rearranged to form Gurney's Articles 3 and 4 & 5 in a complicated way that calls for more extensive unravelling.

Article 1., *olim* Macro MS 5, ff. 1–43.

Stratton-on-the Fosse, Downside Abbey MS 78294.

Juvenal, *Satirae*, written in England, s. xiii². Material: medium quality membrane, 43 quired leaves and no contemporary flyleaves, 230 × 135 mm., written space (ruled in brown crayon for a single column, pricking visible), varying between 200 × 88 mm. to 190 × 60 mm. in different parts of the manuscript; 40–46 lines to the column. Quire numbers (.ij., .iij., .iiij.) preserved at the foot of the last page of the second third and

fourth quires (ff. 15v, 23v and 30v), but no other quire or leaf signatures visible. Collation: 1⁸ (3 canc., but text continuous), 2–3⁸, 4⁸ (8 canc., but text continuous), 5⁸, 6⁸ (wants 6–8 after f. 43v, where the text ends). The three leaves now wanting at the end of the manuscript were probably blanks; they had gone by the time Cox Macro through-foliated MS 5 while it was still intact (see below, Article 2). Handwriting: two hands, the first responsible for ff. 1r–30v, the second for ff. 31r–43v; both wrote a small gothic bookhand, a scaled-down version of textura with a rounded aspect and some cursive features; both observe a marked separation of the capital letter at the beginning of each verse from the remainder of the line. Many minute marginal and interlinear glosses in the main hand of the text on the first few pages, but not many thereafter; faint marginal notes in pencil and crayon by fourteenth century English hands on f. 24v. Each Satire numbered marginally by a sixteenth or seventeenth century hand near where it begins, and a foliation of all the extant leaves (ff. 1–43) added by Cox Macro. Blue morocco Gurney binding, as described above, including also four paper flyleaves at both the front and back of the book; ‘IUVENAL’ on spine. Note inside the front cover in Hudson Gurney’s hand: ‘Sir Henry Ellis says of the 13th century — Sir Frederic Madden very early in the 14th — about 1300 — of which there are many similar MSS of Juvenal extant’; bookplate of C. S. Ascherson with a note by him of the Gurney sale in 1936; a label, ‘Downside Ex Dono D. M. R.’, referring to D. M. Rogers of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, historian of recusant printing, a substantial quantity of whose books and papers were bequeathed to the library of Downside Abbey after his death in 1995. Juvenal was popular author throughout the post-classical and medieval periods, and as Madden rightly remarked, the surviving manuscripts of the Satires are very numerous.²⁵ The present copy appears to yield no sign of its provenance before Cox Macro’s time, and it seems neither to have been described, nor its text studied, while it was in private hands.²⁶

Article 2., *olim* Macro MS 5, ff. [44]–87.

Manchester, John Rylands University Library MS Lat. 420.²⁷

Quadripartitus (Anglo-Saxon Laws), s. xii^{3/4}, written in England, imperfect at the beginning. Material: medium quality membrane, 42 quired leaves extant, two quires each of 10 leaves missing at the beginning, 200 × 140 mm., written space (ruled in brown crayon for a single column) 155 × 115 mm., 27 lines to the column. Three foliations: (i) by Francis Tate (s. xvi ex., see below), ff. 21–61; (ii) by Cox Macro (s. xviii med.) ff. 46–87; (iii) modern, ff. 1–42, cited here. Flyleaves: at front, four modern flyleaves of the Gurney binding (see below) with modern numbering i–iv; two earlier flyleaves, modern numbering v–vi; flyleaf v is s. xvi and contains inscriptions on both sides by Tate, the top right hand corner damaged and repaired, shows faint

²⁵ U. Knoche, *Handschrifte Grundlagen des Juvenal-textes*, Philologus Supplementband 23 (Leipzig, 1940), pp. 5–30, enumerates upwards of 40 manuscript copies of the Satires in the British Library alone.

²⁶ I have not had the opportunity to compare the glosses in the Downside manuscript with those printed in P. Wessner (ed.) *Scholia in Iuvenalem vetustiora* (Stuttgart, 1967).

²⁷ F. Taylor, *Supplementary Hand-List of Western Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library, 1937* (Manchester, 1937), pp. 13–14. A page from the manuscript is reproduced in the Sotheby’s catalogue of the Gurney sale (as cited in n. 22 above, facing p. 34), and digital images of ff. 46r–84v (in Cox Macro’s foliation) are available on the website of the Early English Laws project, Institute of Historical Research, University of London: <http://www.earlyenglishlaws.ac.uk/laws/manuscripts/m/>.

traces of 44 in Cox Macro's numbering; flyleaf vi apparently added later (? s. xviii), bears Cox Macro's number 45, and other matter (see below). Collation: [1–2¹⁰, missing, bore Tate's foliation 1–20], 3–5¹⁰ + two, ff. 41–2 (Macro foliation ff. 86–7); no quire or leaf signatures and no catchwords visible. Handwriting: two practised hands, writing similar versions of twelfth century protogothic minuscule, the first responsible for the *Quadripartitus*, the second for the text on the added leaves, ff. 41–2 (see below). Blue morocco Gurney binding as described above, 'LAWS INA TO STEPHEN' on spine. On f. vi recto (Macro f. 45r), 'Script. tempore Hen. 2' in Cox Macro's hand, and 'The oldest M S at Keswick written in the 12th century are the two leaves at the ending of this volume. JHG' (Hudson Gurney); on the verso are a few faint pencilled notes, s. xix, giving incipits for caps. 1 and 2 of the *Leges Inae*. For Tate's additions on f. v (Macro [44]) and elsewhere in the manuscript, see below. Contents: (i) the surviving portion of the *Quadripartitus*, now designated MS M[acro] of the text, occupies ff. 1–40; see the editions by F. Liebermann;²⁸ (ii) on the two added leaves at the end of the manuscript (ff. 41–2), a copy of the treaty between Stephen and Henry II of 1153, printed from this manuscript by Macray in his account of the Gurney collection for the Historical Manuscripts Commission.²⁹

The earlier provenance of this important manuscript deserves more detailed study than is possible here. It is often said to have belonged to Sir Henry Spelman prior to Cox Macro, but though there is evidence that Spelman made use of it, he himself attributed its ownership to the noted jurist, leading figure in the Elizabethan society of antiquaries, and collector of legal manuscripts Francis Tate (1560–1616), from whom he borrowed it.³⁰ Manuscripts owned, written or annotated by Tate have descended into a number of modern collections, but the presence of his hand in Rylands Lat. 420 has not hitherto been noticed.³¹ As well as supplying the title by which its principal text has come to be known, he wrote a list of contents and other notes on a flyleaf (f. v), supplied a foliation, and added numerous marginal annotations and headings throughout the manuscript. To judge by the inking of the marginal notes, he must have worked on the manuscript on at least two occasions. One of them may have been in c. 1589–90, dates which occur at the head of London, British Library MS Cotton Julius C.ii f. 42r, containing his notes and extracts from the Rylands manuscript. Nothing is known of how Tate's collections came to be dispersed, or of how this manuscript came into Cox Macro's possession, but it clearly lost its first two quires, and quite likely any binding it may have had, en route.

²⁸ *Quadripartitus, ein englisches Rechtsbuch von 1114* (Halle, 1892), and (discontinuously) in *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen* (Halle, 1898–1916); see vol. 1, pp. xxiv–v for MS M. For recent discussions see P. Wormald, 'Quadripartitus', in *Law and Government in Medieval England and Normandy*, ed. G. Garnett and J. Hudson (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 111–72; idem, *The Making of English Law* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 236–44; and R. Sharpe, 'The Dating of *Quadripartitus* Again', in *English Law before Magna Carta*, ed. S. Jurasinski et al., (Leiden and Boston, 2010), pp. 81–93.

²⁹ *HMC Twelfth Report*, as cited in n. 20 above, pp. 119–21.

³⁰ It has not so far been noted that Spelman's notes on what is now Rylands Lat. 420 occupy ff. 273–6 of Norwich, Norfolk Record Office, MS 7197 (see n. 20 above); they are headed 'In quodam libro in quo continebantur leges antiquorum Regum Angliae subscriptorum mihi praestito per Magistrum Tate inter alia hec excerpti xx⁰ decemb. 1604'. Spelman saw the manuscript before ff. 1–20 of it disappeared, and extracted some Anglo-Saxon words and glosses therefrom; the folio references to materials he noted from the part of the Rylands manuscript still extant correspond to Tate's foliation of it.

³¹ See the *Catalogue of English Legal Manuscripts in Cambridge University Library*, ed. J. H. Baker and J. S. Ringrose (Woodbridge, 1996), p. xlix–l for observations on Tate and his collections.

The first scholar to have grasped the importance of the Macro *Quadripartitus* in modern times was Sir Frederic Madden, who must have consulted the manuscript soon after it came into Hudson Gurney's possession, and before it was separated from the other items in Macro MS 5 in c. 1836. He noted its close textual similarity to the copy of the work in the Earl of Leicester's library at Holkham Hall (now London, British Library Additional MS 49366) and also observed the title that Tate had preserved, long before Liebermann adopted it.³² Shortly after Macro MS 5 was broken up Article 2 was lent to Benjamin Thorpe to assist him in the preparation of his *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, and later in the century it was consulted at Keswick Hall by Liebermann.³³

The question of who owned Articles 1 (Juvenal) and 2 (*Quadripartitus*) immediately before Cox Macro remains open. Neither manuscript appears to yield any information on this point, and nor do we know of any external evidence that may be brought to bear. With Articles 3 (the morality plays) and 4 & 5 (the Latin pseudo-scientific manuscripts) the case is rather different. With the probable exception of Article 3[3], the manuscript of the *Castle of Perseverance*, all of the items concerned show evidence of having belonged to a Bury St Edmunds collector of a previous generation, James Cobbes, who was born in c. 1602 and who died in 1685, two years after Cox Macro was born.³⁴ The fact that a significant number of manuscripts formerly owned by Cobbes came into Macro's possession is not surprising. Cox's father Thomas was a contemporary of Cobbes, serving alongside him in various civic offices in Bury in the latter half of the seventeenth century; both families owned property in the town, and (before Thomas Macro bought the Little Haugh estate at Norton) both had country residences at Saxham, a few miles to the west.³⁵ It is not known how Cobbes's manuscripts were dispersed after his death. Some of them found their way into the vast accumulations of major collectors such as the Harleys, Sir Hans Sloane and Richard Rawlinson, and are consequently now to be found in the British Library and the Bodleian. Most of those that were acquired by Cox Macro can be traced in a much wider variety of collections, having been scattered after the sales of the Dawson Turner and Hudson Gurney libraries, while others still have come down to posterity through obscurer channels.³⁶

James Cobbes took an active interest in the contents of his medieval and early modern manuscripts, sometimes providing them with mock-ups of title pages on their

³² The catalogue of the Holkham manuscripts, begun by William Roscoe and later completed in much enhanced detail by Madden between 1815 and 1828, was never printed; see Holkham Hall MS 770, Vol. IV, ff. 72–89, at ff. 75–6, for Madden's very detailed notes comparing the Holkham and Macro copies of the *Quadripartitus*.

³³ *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England* (London, 1840), Vol. 1, pp. xix, xxv.

³⁴ R. Beadle, 'James Cobbes of Bury St Edmunds (c. 1602–1685) and his Manuscripts', in *The Medieval Book and a Modern Collector: Essays in Honour of Toshiyuki Takamiya*, ed. T. Matsuda et al. (Cambridge and Tokyo, 2004), pp. 427–40.

³⁵ W. Symonds, 'The Booke of Subscriptions (1663–1705)', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology*, 13 (1909), 44–56 (51–2). Thomas and Cox Macro were alumni of the grammar school in Bury, and James Cobbes possibly was, though he is known to have spent the earlier part of his life in Kent. The donations register of the school library records all three men as having given books, Cobbes in 1676, Thomas Macro in 1682 and Cox in 1702–3; see Cambridge, University Library, Additional MS 7930, pp. 16–7, 32, and S. H. A. H[ervey], *Biographical List of Boys Educated at King Edward VI Free Grammar School, Bury St Edmunds from 1550 to 1900*, Suffolk Green Books, 13 (1908), pp. 78, 248–9.

³⁶ An Appendix giving some addenda and corrigenda to the list of Cobbes's manuscripts published in 2004 will be found at the end of the present study.

flyleaves, where (if the contents were miscellaneous) he listed them in some detail. In particular, he would often give the authors and titles of works, as he understood them, sometimes as a result of closer study of the texts, which in some cases he annotated. Though he cannot be described as a deeply learned man, he certainly knew enough to read the sometimes difficult scripts in which some of his earlier manuscripts were written, and he could comment intelligently on their contents, and matters of textual integrity. Cobbes's typical activities as a collector and arranger of early manuscripts provide a necessary context for investigating the forms in which the pseudo-scientific texts and the morality plays scripts that went into the making of the latter half of Macro MS 5 came into Cox Macro's possession.

To understand the construction of the latter half of MS 5 as it was originally brought together by Cox Macro himself it is necessary to consider the booklets that later formed Hudson Gurney's Article 3 and Article 4 & 5 in the order indicated by Macro's through-foliation, viz. 4 & 5 [1], 3[2], 3[1], 4 & 5[2], 4 & 5 [3(i) and (ii)] and 3[3]. Of these items, 4 & 5[1], a fragment of a thirteenth-century alchemical manuscript on vellum, together with 3[2], the script of *Wisdom*, and 3[1], the script of *Mankind*, both of which are on paper, originally comprised a first discrete booklet previously owned by James Cobbes. Article 4 & 5[2], a paper copy of William of England's *De urina non visa* made around the turn of the fifteenth century, together with 4 & 5[3 (i)], consisting of herbal, alchemical and medical texts on paper, dated 1571, and 4 & 5[3(ii)], and then copy of part of an alchemical treatise entitled *Liber aureus* on paper by the same hand (also dated 1571), originally formed a second independent booklet previously assembled by Cobbes. How these items came together prior to Cobbes's time, who had previously owned them, and how they passed to Cobbes, will be considered below, after they have been described in more detail. Whether the final item, Article 3[3] in Macro MS 5, the script of the *Castle of Perseverance* originally accompanied, or formed part of either of Cobbes's booklets, whether it had also belonged to Cobbes as an independent entity, or whether it came to Cox Macro from another source altogether remains uncertain, as we shall see.

Cobbes Booklet 1.

Article 4 & 5[1] + Articles 3[2] and 3[1], *olim* Macro MS 5, ff. 88–134, now, respectively, parts of Los Angeles, UCLA Library Special Collections MS Rouse 51, and Washington DC, Folger Shakespeare Library MS V.a.354.

Article 4 & 5[1] is now the first section (modern foliation, ff. 1–10) of Los Angeles, UCLA Library, Special Collections, Rouse MS 51.³⁷ At the front are two early paper flyleaves, ff. 1–2, the first of which bears two inscriptions by James Cobbes, apparently made at different times, the second being dated. All is boxed off in

³⁷ I am most grateful to Richard and Mary Rouse for illuminating personal correspondence concerning MS Rouse 51, for sight of their detailed description of it, and for permission to incorporate some of their observations in the account of the manuscript given here. Digitised images and a brief description are available on the UCLA Library Special Collections website. The Rouse manuscripts were presented to the library at UCLA Los Angeles in 2005; for an overview of the collection see S. Hindman, 'The Richard and Mary Rouse Collection of Medieval Manuscripts at the University of California, Los Angeles', in *Medieval Manuscripts, their Makers and Users: a special issue of Viator in honor of Richard and Mary Rouse*, ed. C. Baswell (Turnhout, 2011), pp. 293–310.

imitation of a title or contents page, a common practice of Cobbes's in similar situations. The first inscription (in black ink) reads:

Liber Alchimiae, sine principio & fine.

2. Two olde playes or maskes but Imperfect & little worthe.

to which is added (in pale brown ink):

In praedicto libro Alchimico haec insunt: 1. fragmentum Libri Aristotelis perfecti Magisterij in Scientia occulta. fol. primo.

2. Liber secretorum de voce Rubici Rubecari Mahumeth &c. de Speciebus, vasis, et operatione specierum. fol. .1.b. et sequentibus. Vsque ad finem est autrui hoc fragmentum libri tantum ex tribus enim partibus, in quas hoc opus diuisum fuit, prima tantum, et principium secundae sicut exhibentur, caetera desiderantur. Ja. Cob. 5^o Januarij 1650.³⁸

The remainder of the first section of Rouse MS 51 may be described as follows:

Alchemica, imperfect, s. xiii med., written in England. Material: membrane, of indifferent quality (many holes), a single quire of eight leaves, 210 × 155 mm., written space (ruled in brown ink for two columns) 175 × 120 mm., 50 lines to the column. Three foliations: (i) By James Cobbes, probably 1650, ff. 1–8 (excluding flyleaves); (ii) Cox Macro (s. xviii med.), ff. 88–97 (including flyleaves); (iii) modern, used here, ff. 1–10 (including flyleaves). Collation: 1⁸; an original boxed catchword ('et renova medici') at the foot of f. 10v, and 'quaternus 12' (left) and 'folio 1' (right) added by a later hand (probably s. xiv) at foot of f. 3r, suggest that this was the twelfth, and not the final quire of a much larger manuscript. Handwriting: a fairly competent small *textura rotunda*, with some inclination to cursivity (split tops and curls to many ascenders); text in dense black ink, headings in pale red; heavy use of abbreviation. Spaces left for two-line *litterae notabiliores* left unfilled. Some marginal annotations by later hands (s. xiii–xiv) show an informed interest in the content. 'Multa desiderantur' in Cobbes's hand at the head of f. 3r. Blue morocco Gurney binding as described above, 'ALCHYMY ASTROLOGY &c. on spine. Four modern paper flyleaves at front and (after Article 4 & 5[3(ii)], as below) at back.³⁹ Offsets from an older binding are visible along the bottom edge and the fore edge of the first older flyleaf (f. 1r, bearing Cobbes's inscriptions) but not along its top edge, suggesting that the booklet was subsequently cropped after the older binding was lost or discarded. If there was a corresponding flyleaf after the end of this booklet (assuming it ended with Article 3[1] *Mankind*, Macro f. 134), it has disappeared.

³⁸ Cobbes seems to have reviewed a number of his manuscripts in this way during January 1650; see Beadle, 'James Cobbes', p. 435. The inscription in the Rouse manuscript has been copied in pencil (rather haphazardly) by a modern hand on the facing flyleaf of the Gurney binding (f. iv verso).

³⁹ On the recto of the first flyleaf is pasted a cutting from a Christie's sale catalogue, ('in aid of Red Cross Fund, July 1940' added in pencil), giving the lot number (2415), a brief description of the manuscript as a whole, and recording that it was 'Presented by Philip Nelson, Esq.'. The manuscript had previously been lot 73 in the Gurney sale at Sothebys in 1936 (see n. 22 above), when it was bought for five guineas by 'Court'. It was again sold by Sothebys on 8 December 1981 (lot 78 in their catalogue of that date), when it was bought by Ralph Hanna, who went on to sell it privately to Richard and Mary Rouse on 17 November 1995.

Contents: (i) ff. 3r–v^b, the latter part of an alchemical text, a practical laboratory manual of a common type, and apparently an extract from one of the many versions of *De perfecto magisterio*, variously attributed to Aristotle and others, that began to circulate from the thirteenth century.⁴⁰

(ii) ff. 3v^b–10v, Razi (Muhammad Ibn Zakariya Al-Razi, s. x), *Liber secretorum* (*Kitab al-Asrar*), imperfect; the text breaks off at the end of the quire, in the second book. It is not known who translated the work from Arabic into Latin.⁴¹

The other parts of Cobbes's Booklet 1 consisted of the two 'olde playes or maskes', which he considered to be of negligible interest or value. His uncertainty about the genre of these texts probably arose because their dramatis personae were allegorical or supernatural, unlike those of most stage plays in the era before the closure of the theatres in 1642, and more like those of many court and aristocratic masques of the time.⁴² It is probably safe to assume that his description refers to *Wisdom* and *Mankind*, which went on to occupy folios 98–121 and 122–34 of Cox Macro's MS 5, before being removed and rebound separately (in reverse order) as the first two items in Hudson Gurney's Article 3; they may be briefly described as follows.⁴³

Article 3[2], *olim* Macro MS 5, ff. 98–121, now part of Washington DC, Folger Shakespeare Library MS V.a.354.

⁴⁰ The end of the last receipt and colophon read (f. 3v^b) 'Sal armoniacus sublimatus ter ita dissoluitur et preparatur in aqua dulci. Accipe de eo preparato partem id est et dissolui ipsam in duabus partibus aque dulcis prepare et utere de eo sicut predixi. Explicit liber Aristotilis perfecti magisterii in sciencia occulta Laus sit deo'. For texts of this type see C. B. Schmitt and D. Knox, *Pseudo-Aristoteles Latinus: A Guide to Latin Works falsely attributed to Aristotle before 1500* (London, 1985) §58, pp. 41–3. The section headings in the surviving part of the text are: 'Compositio uerissimi alexir', 'Alius modus componendi alexeria', 'De albacio duorum plumborum', 'Aqua salis per nominata ita fit', and 'Capitellum phisicum ita fit'.

⁴¹ A number of manuscripts of this work, in various versions and of various dates, survive in European libraries (examples in British repositories include Cambridge, Trinity College, O.2.16, ff. 77–107v (s. xv), and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 119, ff. 111–28 (s. xiv)); a full list is given in L. Thorndike and P. Kibre, *A Catalogue of Incipits of Mediaeval Scientific Writings in Latin* (London, 1963), col. 820. Razi's text was the earliest and most highly valued of the Arabic alchemical laboratory manuals that reached the Latin west; see the English translation (with a valuable introduction) by G. M. Taylor, *The Alchemy of Al-Razi*, (Charleston NC, 2014).

⁴² In his earlier days Cobbes had been interested in drama, and had exercised his literary talents by writing both poems and plays, some examples of which survive; Beadle, 'James Cobbes', pp. 431, 436–7.

⁴³ A remoter possibility, that Cobbes took *Wisdom* and *Mankind* together to be a single play text, and that the *Castle of Perseverance* once formed part of his collections and was the other, should perhaps not be altogether ruled out. *Wisdom* and *Mankind* are for the most part in one hand, and are laid out in similar fashion on leaves of identical dimensions. John Wilson, when cataloguing Macro's manuscripts in 1766, certainly mistook them for a single undifferentiated piece of writing, which he described as 'Old Poetry by Hyngham y^e Monk written on paper'. The handwriting and layout of the *Castle* manuscript are different, the leaves are of smaller dimensions, and it is accompanied by a unique staging diagram. Descriptive details of the Macro manuscripts of *Wisdom*, *Mankind* and the *Castle* are given in the editions mentioned in n. 2 above, and some of their codicological features are studied in S. Spector, 'Paper Evidence and the Genesis of the Macro Plays', *Mediaevalia*, 5 (1979), 217–32 and R. Beadle, 'Monk Thomas Hyngham's Hand in the Macro Manuscript', *New Science out of Old Books: Studies in Manuscripts and Early Printed Books in honour of A. I. Doyle*, ed. R. Beadle and A. J. Piper (Aldershot, 1995), pp. 315–341.

The play *Wisdom*, written in England, s. xv ex. Material: paper, 220 × 158–60 mm., in two gatherings, each of twelve leaves, the written space unruled, and the text disposed in a single column of variable dimensions (approx. 160–70 × 100–10 mm.), averaging 25 lines to the page.⁴⁴ Two foliations, (i) by Cox Macro (s. xviii med.) ff. 98–121; (ii) modern, ff. 14–37. Collation: 1–2¹²; no catchword at the end of the first quire (Macro f. 109v), but the leaves of the first quire numbered j–xij in the bottom right hand corner by the scribe, an eccentric procedure also followed in the single quire that constitutes the whole of the manuscript of *Mankind*.⁴⁵ The text was through-written, except that the scribe unaccountably left the second page of the first quire (f. 98v) blank, without any discontinuity in the text. Binding: all three of the Macro plays were removed from the blue Gurney binding in 1971 when the manuscripts were photographed for the facsimile published the following year, and they are at present unbound. The binding itself, which is uniform to those that Hudson Gurney provided for his Articles 1, 2 and 4 & 5, is preserved separately. The lettering on the spine reads: OLD PLAYS TEMP: HENRY. VI. Handwriting: a single hand throughout, that of Thomas Hyngham, monk of Bury St Edmunds, predominantly a current anglicana, but with single-compartment *a* and simplified *w* from the secretary repertoire; the orthography includes many features indicating that he is likely to have been brought up or trained in the central area of East Anglia, somewhere around the Norfolk-Suffolk border.⁴⁶ It has been convincingly demonstrated that the exemplar for this copy of *Wisdom* still exists, in part, in the fragment of the text (lines 1–752) found in Oxford, Bodleian MS Digby 133.⁴⁷ Many sixteenth century inscriptions in many hands in the margins and on the originally blank pages at f. 98v and the end of the booklet, f. 121v; where names occur they can often be shown to have associations with persons and places in East Anglia (see further below).⁴⁸

Article 3[1], *olim* Macro MS 5, ff. 122–34, now part of Washington DC, Folger Shakespeare Library MS V.a.354.

The play *Mankind*, imperfect, written in England, s. xv ex. Material: paper, 220 × 158–60 mm., in one quire, consisting originally of sixteen leaves; written space unruled, text disposed in a single column of variable dimensions (approx. 160–70 × 100–10 mm.); an average of 39 lines to the page on ff. 122r–32r (first scribe, Thomas Hyngham), 26–7 lines to page on ff. 132v–4r (second scribe).⁴⁹ Two foliations, (i) by Cox Macro (s. xviii med.), ff. 122–34, and (ii) modern, ff. 1–13. Collation: 1¹⁶ (wants 2, with loss of approx. 80 lines of text, 15 and 16, probably blanks); as in the

⁴⁴ The physical characteristics of the paper remain to be studied in close detail, and the watermark (a *pot*, said to resemble Briquet nos. 12477–8, France, 1476 × 1484) has yet to be accurately reproduced; but see Spector, 'Paper Evidence', p. 223.

⁴⁵ Beadle, 'Monk Thomas Hyngham's Hand', pp. 321–2.

⁴⁶ See the map in 'Prolegomena to a Literary Geography of Later Medieval Norfolk', in *Regionalism in Late Medieval Manuscripts and Texts: Essays Celebrating the Publication of the Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English*, ed. F. Riddy (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 89–108 (p. 101).

⁴⁷ M. C. Riggio, *The Play of Wisdom: its Texts and Contexts* (New York, 1998), pp. 6–18; see also *The Digby Plays: Facsimiles of the Plays in Bodley Digby MSS 133 and e Museo 160*, ed. D. C. Baker and J. L. Murphy (Leeds, 1976).

⁴⁸ *The Macro Plays*, ed. Eccles, pp. xxviii–ix.

⁴⁹ The figures are Eccles's, *Macro Plays*, p. xxxvii. The physical characteristics of the paper in this manuscript also remain to be studied in close detail. The watermark, which has yet to be accurately reproduced to modern standards, takes the form of a hand surmounted by a star, and has been likened to Briquet, *main*, nos. 11162 (1487×92), 10715 (1495) and 10717 (1498); see Spector, 'Paper Evidence', p. 219, and Beadle, 'Monk Thomas Hyngham's Hand', p. 327.

manuscript of *Wisdom*, the main scribe has continued the numbering of the leaves beyond the centre of the gathering, j–x visible.⁵⁰ The manuscript is at present unbound; for details, see the preceding item. Two hands, (i) that of Thomas Hyngham, as throughout the Macro *Wisdom*, ff. 122r–32r, and (ii) unidentified, ff. 132v–4r. Hyngham's cursive anglicana is here more current and crowded than it is in *Wisdom*; one of the secretary features used there (single compartment *a*) is consistently suppressed in favour of its anglicana equivalent, and a different form of anglicana final *s* is extensively used. The general impression given is that the part of *Mankind* copied by Hyngham was executed at a different, and perhaps later time than his copy of *Wisdom*.⁵¹ Later marginal and end-leaf inscriptions of similar character to those in the Macro *Wisdom* manuscript are also frequent. The only hand that appears to lay definitive claim to ownership of both of the play manuscripts after Thomas Hyngham is that of Robert Oliver, who wrote 'Iste liber pertinet ad me Robertum Oliver' in a simple and common form of cipher on f. 119v of *Wisdom* (cf. also his similar inscriptions on ff. 99r, 1003r, 104r and 117v). On f. 134r, the last page of *Mankind*, he also added 'Robertus olyuer est verus possessor huius lybry' in the margin (which was later moistened and rubbed so as to partially obscure it), and 'Olyuer' in large lettering at the top.⁵² His ownership of these parts of Macro MS 5 is considered in more detail below.

It will be seen that Cobbes's booklet 1 comprised three bibliographically discrete elements, or sub-booklets, the second and third of which were closely related to one another, having been for the most part copied and owned by the same person, and subsequently kept together (it appears) unbound. It is noticeable that the first page of the *Wisdom* booklet (Macro f. 98r) and the last surviving page of the *Mankind* booklet (Macro f. 134v) are more soiled and grimy than those within the two manuscripts, including those that originally faced one another at the end of the first text and the beginning of the second (Macro ff. 121v and 121r respectively). The two appear thus to have lain together unprotected for some time, before going on to be bound with the fragment of the thirteenth century alchemical manuscript to form a larger unit. By the same token, the missing fifteenth and sixteenth leaves of the *Mankind* gathering seem likely to have been lost early on. Blank leaves were commonly removed from manuscripts to be used for other purposes, and in this case their disappearance inevitably prejudiced the survival of their conjugates in the shape of the first and second leaves of the quire. In the event, only the second leaf of *Mankind* was lost, carrying away some 80 lines of the text.

The construction of Cobbes's booklet 2, containing what became Gurney's Articles 4 & 5[2], [3(i)] and [3(ii)], and what are now the second third and fourth units in Rouse MS 51, may be seen in a similar light to that of his booklet 1. It is likewise made up of a series of sub-booklets of different dates, of which the latter two are again the work of the same hand, made at different times, but kept together by their creator and first owner. All three items in booklet 2 evidently came to Cobbes as a unit separate from, but probably somehow associated with booklet 1, and he accordingly provided a separate account of the contents at the beginning, as set out below.

⁵⁰ For further discussion of this distinctive feature and a diagram of the collation see Beadle, 'Monk Thomas Hyngham's Hand', pp. 321–2.

⁵¹ See the more extended discussion of the handwriting in Beadle, 'Monk Thomas Hyngham's Hand', pp. 322–5, 329–30.

⁵² See *Macro Plays*, ed. Eccles, pp. xxviii, xxxvii, and the facsimile of the manuscripts cited above (n. 2).

Cobbes booklet 2.

Articles 4 & 5[2], [3(i)] and [3(ii)], *olim* Macro MS 5, ff. 135–53, now parts of Los Angeles, UCLA Library Special Collections MS Rouse 51.

Articles 4 & 5[2] is now the second section of UCLA Library MS Rouse 51, folios 11 to 20 in the modern foliation. It consists of a single quire containing a single text, which the scribe began on the recto of the second leaf (f. 12r), leaving the first to act as a flyleaf. The front of this leaf (f. 11r) is now occupied by two inscriptions made at different times by James Cobbes. The first, in dark brown ink, accounted for the contents of all three of the remaining parts of Articles 4 & 5, but he later deleted it after he had studied the contents of Articles 4 & 5[2] more carefully. It read:

Judicium vrinæ exitusque morbi secundum figura stellarumque virtutes
per willielmum Browne.

Chimica Hermetis, et Rogeri Baconis per Tho. Olyuerium transcripta.

Later, he thought the better of this, and, noting that he had mistaken the name of an early owner of the booklet on f. 11v for that of the real author of the treatise, who is named in the first section of the text on f. 12r, he deleted his initial inscription, and substituted the following:

1. Willielmi Natione Anglici, Civis Massiliensis, medici, et
Astronomi, de Natura Egritudinis et exitu morbi judicium
secundum figuorum Stellarumque vires. liber quidem non
inelegans aut indoctus, sed scriptoris inscitia miseris modis
deformatus.
2. accedunt Chimica Hermetis et Rogeri Baconis per Tho:
Olyverium transcripta.

Both of these inscriptions imply that all three of the items he listed had come to him bound together, or somehow otherwise kept together as a unit. On the back of the flyleaf at the front (f. 11v) is a conspicuously large calligraphic inscription (*textura semiquadrata*) consisting of the name of an early owner of Article 4 & 5[2], ‘William Browne.’ The same name also appears written in a more cursive but still old-fashioned script (*bastard secretary*) in another of Cobbes’s early pseudo-scientific manuscripts, now New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library Mellon MS 37, where it is accompanied by the date 1567. If, as seems quite possible, the inscription in Rouse manuscript is by the same writer, it may have been added made at much the same time.⁵³ The structure and contents of the second section of Rouse MS 51 may be described as follows:

⁵³ Mellon MS 37 contains an abridged English translation, dated 1556, of John de Rupescissa’s, *De consideratione quinte essentie*, in a contemporary binding that incorporates parts of a much older manuscript originally from the Franciscan friary at Babwell, just outside Bury St Edmunds. Cobbes (who possessed a number of manuscripts formerly associated with religious houses at Bury and other places in East Anglia, including Babwell) supplied his customary list of contents on a flyleaf, and a foliation. Browne’s name and the date are at the end of the manuscript, on f. 48v; illustrations of both his signature and Cobbes’s contents list accompany the description of the manuscript in *Alchemy and the Occult. A Catalogue of the Books and Manuscripts from the Collection of Paul and Mary Mellon given to Yale University Library, Manuscripts 1225–1671*, ed. L. C. Whitten II and R. Pachella (New Haven, 1977), pp. 249–55. The compilers of this catalogue were unaware that the manuscript later

William of England, *De urina non visa*, s. xv/xvi, written in England.⁵⁴ Material: paper, a single gathering of ten leaves, 210 × 150 mm., unruled written space variable, approx. 145 × 100 mm., a single column averaging around 30 lines to the page.⁵⁵ Two foliations: by Cox Macro, s. xviii med., ff. 135–44; (ii) modern (used here), ff. 11–20. The text of *De urina* occupies ff. 12r–20r, and f. 20v is blank. The outer pages of the booklet (ff. 11r and 20v) are grimmer than those within, suggesting that it has spent time unbound; for the present Gurney binding see under Articles 4 & 5[1] above. Collation: 1¹⁰, no quire/leaf signature and no catchword present. Handwriting: a single neat and practised secretary hand throughout. The scribe was conversant with the arcane subject matter, and the rubrication includes many accurately rendered astrological signs, as well as paragraph marks, decoration to capitals and numerals in red. Following the end of the text on f. 20r is a rubricated diagram of the cast horoscope that customarily forms part of the treatise.⁵⁶ Several pages of the booklet exhibit large red or brown stains, where liquids have been accidentally dropped on the surface, perhaps suggesting that the manuscript has been used in a laboratory environment. The first few pages contain many underlinings and marginal notes in James Cobbes's hand, picking out chapter headings, expanding abbreviations, transcribing or glossing difficult words, and copying the astrological symbols.

Articles 4 & 5[3(i)], *olim* Macro MS 5, ff. 145–49.

Articles 4 & 5[3(i)] is the first unit in the third section of Rouse MS 51, folios 21 to 25 in the modern numbering, which is followed here. It is made up of two singleton leaves, followed by a gathering of four, of which the fourth is now represented by a blank stub (f. 25^{bis}, not numbered by Macro). The first of the two singleton leaves, f. 21, was originally a blank, but the recto was later used by James Cobbes to provide a note of the contents of items [3(i)] and [3(ii)], both of which had been written by Thomas Oliver on different dates during 1571, but were presumably kept together subsequently. At first he described them as 'Chymica Hermetis et Rog. Baconis' in dark brown ink, later returning to add (in pale brown ink) 'per Tho: Oliuerium transcripta'. The structure and contents of [3(i)] are as follows:

Miscellaneous medical and alchemical notes and receipts compiled by Thomas Oliver in 1571 (see below). Material: paper (showing no watermark), a single gathering of four leaves preceded by two singletons, 200–10 × 140–5 mm., unruled written space variable, approx. 190–200 × 130–40 mm., single columns varying from 50 to 60 long

came into Cox Macro's possession, was lot 24 in the sale of his manuscripts in 1820, and went on to be lot 142 in the Gurney sale of 1936, when it was bought by Maggs for £30. Cobbes's collection also included a copy of the Latin original of Rupescissa's text; see Beadle, 'James Cobbes', pp. 427–30. The identity of William Browne is considered below, in the context of Thomas Oliver's subsequent ownership of the alchemical and astrological sections of the Rouse manuscript.

⁵⁴ A widely disseminated treatise on medical astrology, dating from the thirteenth century; the recent critical edition by L. Moulinier-Brogi, *Guillaume l'Anglais, le Frondeur de l'Uroscopie Médiévale (xiii^e siècle)* (Geneva, 2011) lists upwards of sixty manuscripts, but not this copy. A transcription of a Middle English translation of the work is included in H. M. Carey's study of the subject in general, 'Medieval Latin Astrology and the Cycles of Life: William English and English Medicine in Cambridge, Trinity College MS O.5.26', in *Astro-Medicine. Astrology and Medicine, East and West*, ed. A. Akasoy et al. (Florence, 2008), pp. 33–74.

⁵⁵ Richard and Mary Rouse notice a watermark, a *main* with letters on it, not identifiable in Briquet, but generically related to his no. 11154 (1480×83).

⁵⁶ See Moulinier-Brogi, *Guillaume l'Anglais*, p. 169.

lines. Cropping, presumably in connection with an earlier binding, has removed most of the first lines on folios 24 and 25; for the present Gurney binding see under Articles 4 & 5[1] above. Two foliations: (i) by Cox Macro (s. xvii med.), ff. 145–49; (ii) modern, ff. 21–5. Handwriting italic, varying from quite neat and calligraphic to rough semi-cursive, signed and dated by Thomas Oliver at the foot of f. 23r (see below). The text on f. 22r has been heavily reworked and corrected in places; thereafter alterations are infrequent. No rubrication or decoration, but several drawings added in the margins on f. 24r–v.

Contents: f. 22, a single leaf, the recto headed ‘Septimi Capitis Idææ Severinianæ summ[a] & recapitulatio’. The text that follows consists of summaries, notes and extracts (some accompanied by page and line references), taken by Thomas Oliver from Petrus Severianus, *Idea medicinæ philosophicæ* (Basilæ: Sexti Henricpetri, 1571), a widely influential treatise expounding the medical theories of Paracelsus.⁵⁷ Folio 23r is headed ‘Ex Hermetis traditione de lunaria’, and the remainder of the page is occupied by notes on the properties of the astrologically and alchemically significant herbs known in English as lunary and martagon, with receipts for their use, attributed to ‘Hermes’ (probably meaning Hermes Trismegistus). At the foot are notes from the same source on another herb, ‘borire’, signed at the end ‘Anno 1571 Dece. 8 Tho. Oliuer scripsi’.⁵⁸ On folios 23v to 24r are receipts relating to ‘Aurum potabile’ (colloidal gold), followed by several for ‘Vitriolum’, the latter accompanied by marginal drawings of laboratory equipment. Folio 24v is occupied by receipts for ‘aqua forte’ and another for ‘aurum potabile’; the first line of the heading, naming the author, is cropped away, but the second identifies him as a monk of Bermondsey.⁵⁹ On f. 25r are receipts for preparing wines for medicinal purposes, headed ‘De vindematione et vino’, and on f. 25v are receipts headed ‘Aqua arirea de Marchasita [a sulphide] que dicitur citrina’ and ‘Aqua que vocatur *plumborum* rubeum’ [lead acetate]; both substances were used in the flavouring and preservation of wine.

Articles 4 & 5[3(ii)], *olim* Macro MS 5, ff. 150–3.

Item [3(ii)], though signed dated by Oliver some nine months earlier than [3(i)], is generally similar to it in character and appearance, the structure and contents being as follows: Material: Paper, a gathering of four leaves the watermark being a *Pot* bearing the letters ‘PO’;⁶⁰ dimensions 210 × 145 mm., written space approx. 200 × 140 mm.; writing in a single unruled column. Two foliations: (i) by Cox Macro (s. xvii med.), ff. 150–3; (ii) modern (used here), ff. 26–9; for the present Gurney binding see under

⁵⁷ Petrus Severinus (Peder Sørensen, 1542–1602) was physician to the Danish court. There is a modern edition of his work (in Danish, with English introduction and summary) by H. Skov and E. Bastholm, *Petrus Severinus og hans Idea medicinæ philosophicæ* (Odense, 1979); an unpublished English translation of c. 1600 is said to exist in London, British Library MS Sloane 11. Oliver evidently acquired a copy of the work very soon after it was published; most of his notes concern the concluding summary, ‘Præcipvas totius philosophicæ medicinæ conclusiones’, pp. 409ff.

⁵⁸ Late medieval treatises on these herbs were not uncommon, and Oliver’s text is similar to one of the best known, found in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 323: see L. E. Voigts, ‘Plants and Planets: Linking the Vegetable and Celestial in Late Medieval Texts’, in *Health and Healing from the Medieval Garden*, ed. P. Dendle and A. Touwaide (Woodbridge, 2008), pp. 29–46, esp. pp. 41–5, and further references there.

⁵⁹ ‘... monachi de Bermondsey’, i.e. of the Cluniac priory of St Saviour, Bermondsey (London).

⁶⁰ According to Richard and Mary Rouse, similar to Briquet no. 12081, northern French, 1549 × 1560.

Articles 4 & 5[1] above. Handwriting of Thomas Oliver, as described above under [3(i)], signed and dated by him at the end.

Contents: *Liber Aureus*, an alchemical treatise, here spuriously attributed to Roger Bacon.⁶¹ The heading (f. 27r) is 'Liber aureus Rogeri Baconis. De operabilibus in hoc opera de sublimatione. Caput primus', and the text begins 'Alkamiæ est scientia docens transformare viam quam metallorum in solem et lunam . . .'. The material is disposed in nine chapters, and ends (f. 28v) ' . . . pro istis operibus consule Avicennam et librum perfecti magisterii. finis. Finis. Deo gracias Amen. Aureus iste liber haud est de opere. Giber (?). Anno 1571 Aprilis 25^o Thomas Oliuer scripsit'.

Bringing together the now scattered components of the two 'Cobbes booklets' that went into the formation of Macro MS 5 enables us to shed more light on their earlier ownership. Prior to Cobbes they were owned and partially written by Thomas Oliver (c. 1563–1610), known as a physician, and a writer on scientific subjects, who practised in Bury St Edmunds. James Cobbes is known to have married Oliver's elder daughter (and co-heir) Dorothy, and it would have been through her that these and other manuscripts formerly owned by her father came into her husband's possession.⁶² Prior to Thomas Oliver, Articles 3[1] and 3[2] of Macro MS 5, the plays *Wisdom* and *Mankind*, were owned by his father, Robert Oliver, a well-to-do goldsmith of Bury St Edmunds, who died in early in 1570. The original of his will has survived, bearing his signature, which, though shaky (he was terminally ill at the time), is similarly formed to the way in which he wrote his name at the top of f. 134r of the manuscript of *Mankind*.⁶³ His entire estate passed at that point to his wife Margaret (a medical practitioner and apothecary) who died in 1577 and was buried in St James's parish church 'nygh vnto the Quire dore', leaving a will dividing the family property and businesses between her sons Thomas and Roger.⁶⁴ Further documentation concerning the Oliver family is given in Appendix A below. It is less easy to be absolutely certain of the ownership, prior to Thomas Oliver, of Articles 4 & 4[2] of Macro MS 5, the independent quire containing William of England's *De urina non visa*, since William Browne is a common name, known to have been borne by several men in Bury St Edmunds during the sixteenth century.⁶⁵ There is however good reason to identify him with the physician and apothecary of that name who was a neighbour of the

⁶¹ This appears to be a late copy of the *Liber Aureus* that sometimes appears in earlier manuscripts attributed to an otherwise unknown 'Ebrardus' (Everard); see those listed by D. W. Singer, *Catalogue of Latin and Vernacular Alchemical Manuscripts in Great Britain and Ireland dating from before the XVIth Century*, 3 vols. (Brussels, 1928–31), no. 160 (mentioning also a fifteenth century English translation); another copy appears San Marino, H. E. Huntington Library, MS HU 1051, ff. 145–7. Many similar late medieval alchemical texts were indiscriminately attributed to Roger Bacon during the sixteenth century; see *Roger Bacon: Essays*, ed. A. G. Little (Oxford, 1914), pp. 411–16.

⁶² Beadle, 'James Cobbes', pp. 431–2; no record of the date of the marriage appears to have survived. The burial of 'Mrs Dorothy Cobbes wife of Mr James' is noted in the parish register of St James's, Bury St Edmunds, on 21 July 1640; S. H. A. H[ervey], ed., *Bury St Edmunds. St James' Parish Registers. Burials 1562–1800*, Suffolk Green Books No. 17, (Bury, 1916), p. 95.

⁶³ Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk Record Office, W1/36/105, dated 21 December 1569, 'by me Robertt Olyuer'; the date of probate is unclear, but he appears to have died by May 1570.

⁶⁴ Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk Record Office, IC500/2/37, ff. 242v–44v (f. 242v). The parish register gives the date of her burial as 28 March 1577; *St James' Parish Registers. Burials 1562–1800*, p. 14.

⁶⁵ See for example S. H. A. H[ervey], *Suffolk in 1524: being the return for a subsidy granted in 1523*, Suffolk Green Books No. 10, (Woodbridge, 1910) pp. 348, 351, 352.

Olivers in St James's parish; he died two years before Margaret Oliver, in 1575, and like her was buried at the parish church.⁶⁶

Articles 3[3], *olim* Macro MS 5, ff. 154–91, now part of Washington DC, Folger Shakespeare Library MS V.a.354.

The paper booklet that originally stood last in Macro MS 5 was the unique but imperfect copy of another East Anglian morality play, the *Castle of Perseverance*, generally dated (on palaeographical and linguistic grounds) to the second quarter of the fifteenth century. As we have seen, when John Wilson listed Macro's manuscripts in 1766 he described the last item perfunctorily as 'Some more English Verses wrote on Paper', some more, that is, of the same kind of thing that he had described as 'Old Poetry by Hyngham y^e Monk, written on paper' earlier in the book; none of the texts, it seems, struck him as dramatic. By the early nineteenth century their genre and significance had been grasped, and when Hudson Gurney had Macro MS 5 broken up, probably around 1836, he arranged for the *Castle* booklet to be bound with those containing *Wisdom* and *Mankind*, so as to constitute the third component in a separate volume that he styled 'MACRO. M.S.S. NO. 5. ARTICLE. 3'. The manuscript at present lies unbound; for the Gurney binding, from which it was removed in 1971 for photographing for the facsimile published the following year, see under Article 3[2] above, the Macro manuscript of *Wisdom*. The manuscript of the *Castle* may be briefly described as follows.

Material: paper, 210 × 140–3 mm., in three gatherings, the first of sixteen leaves, the second (originally) of either eighteen or twenty leaves, and a third originally consisting of eight leaves; written space unruled, and the text disposed in a single column, approximately 180–90 × 110–20 mm., with 48 lines to the page on average. Two foliations: (i) by Cox Macro (s. xvii med.), ff. 154–91; (ii) modern, ff. 38–75. The paper bears two watermarks, which have yet to be adequately reproduced and studied in detail. In the first and third gatherings is an indeterminate mark, not identifiable with any of the forms displayed in Briquet or other standard repertories. In the second is another mark, differently described by Eccles and Bevington, but said by Eccles to resemble Briquet nos. 11849–50, dated 1442 and 1451.⁶⁷ Collation: the first quire is complete and intact, and consists of a single gathering of sixteen leaves. Evidence regarding the construction and arrangement of the second and third quires is, as Stephen Spector has shown by studying the distribution of the watermarks, ambiguous, and it is probably impossible to be certain of their original states. The second quire originally consisted of either nine or ten sheets (18 or 20 leaves), and the loss of one of them carried away parts of the text. The concluding section of the text contained in the third quire represents a revised or alternative ending to the play, involving the appearance of the Four Daughters of God to debate the salvation of mankind's soul, whereas the banns affixed at the beginning of the text envisage a different dénouement, with the Virgin Mary entering to intercede on his behalf, and

⁶⁶ 'William Browne, apothecary', buried 20 March 1575, *St James' Parish Registers. Burials 1562–1800*, p. 13. Shortly before his death the guildhall feoffees (effectively the corporation of Bury) had made a grant of £10 'for the reliefe of Mr Browne, the physitian'; see M. Statham (ed.), *Accounts of the Feoffees of the Town Lands of Bury St Edmunds, 1569–1622*, Suffolk Records Society, 46 (2003), p. 23.

⁶⁷ Eccles, *Macro Plays*, pp. viii–ix; Bevington, *Macro Plays*, p. xviii.

consigning the Soul to Purgatory. Though the text in this section of the manuscript appears to be continuous and intact, including (on the last extant page of the quire) the staging diagram, it was probably consisted originally of eight, rather than six leaves, the outer two left blank as flyleaves protecting the alternative version of the ending within.⁶⁸ Within the second quire the text was, when in the Macro and Gurney bindings, in a disordered state, the second and third sheets and the seventh and eighth sheets both having been placed in the reverse order. These anomalies, and the loss of another sheet as mentioned above, must have arisen fairly soon after the text was copied, since more than one early sixteenth century hand has attempted to rectify the discontinuities by adding additional speakers' names, and other explanatory notes.⁶⁹ The manuscript was presumably in a bound, or at least stitched state when these additions were made; had they been loose, the annotations would not have been necessary as the sheets could easily have been re-ordered. However, no flyleaves, or outer wrapper, or any physical evidence of binding (with or without other materials) has survived from era before the manuscript came into Cox Macro's possession. All that can be said is that his binder placed only what has come down to us at the end of the assortment of booklets that went to make up Macro MS 5; that its owner included the *Castle* section in his through-foliation, notwithstanding the anomalies in the second quire; and that Hudson Gurney's binder likewise did nothing to rectify them when the same materials passed through his hands some decades later.⁷⁰ Handwriting: the text of the *Castle* is in one small, neat and practised hand. The model for the script is anglicana, whose letter forms are consistently observed, but they are executed with the pen cut and held in the secretary manner, so that the rounded features of *e* and *o* and the lobes of *b*, *d*, *g* and *p* tend to be formed of broken strokes, and sequences of minims are marked by alternations of thick and thin strokes. The speakers' names are added in bastard anglicana script. The scribe was likely to have been at work in the second quarter of the fifteenth century, and his orthography, which was analysed in detail and mapped in the *Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English*, proves to be typical of south central Norfolk, in the neighbourhood of Watton and Attleborough, and thus about twenty-two miles north of Bury St Edmunds, as the crow flies.⁷¹

Unlike the manuscripts of *Wisdom* and *Mankind*, the pages of the *Castle of Perseverance* bear no later additions such as personal or place names that might give any further clue to its provenance prior to Cox Macro's time. Its generic similarity and

⁶⁸ See Spector, 'Paper Evidence', pp. 224–8; further study of the paper may shed light more light on the issues he identifies.

⁶⁹ Listed by Eccles, *Macro Plays*, pp. viii–ix, and Bevington, *Macro Plays*, p. xviii. Contrary to what they say (in which they follow Furnivall and Pollard, *Macro Plays*, pp. xxxii and 131 n. 1) it should be noted that where 'Detraccio ad caro' appears at the foot of f. 170v, the speaker's name is original to the main scribe, and it is only the two words that follow are a later addition.

⁷⁰ The discontinuities in the text of the *Castle* and the disordering of the leaves seem to have gone unnoticed until about 1882, when F. J. Furnivall borrowed 'MACRO. M.S.S. No. 5. ARTICLE. 3.' from J. H. Gurney for some months, and arranged for Eleanor Marx to copy the contents. Their nature and extent emerged eventually in the publication of Pollard's analysis of the structure of the manuscripts in 1904. A pencilled note in what looks very much like Furnivall's hasty hand, at the head of f. 182r of the *Castle* section, reads 'This ought to be p. [sic] 184'.

⁷¹ A. McIntosh, M. L. Samuels et al., *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English*, 4 vols. (Aberdeen, 1986), vol. 3, pp. 307–8, Linguistic Profile 58, National Grid ref. 596 298. Orthographically speaking, the *Castle* scribe's closest relative proves to be the main scribe of the later fifteenth century biblical plays in London, British Library MS Cotton Vespasian D. viii (the N-Town Plays), whose language the *Atlas* places a little further south, near Thetford (Linguistic Profile no. 4280). For a sketch map showing the relative positions see Beadle, 'Prolegomena', p. 101.

its proximity in Macro MS 5 to the two other East Anglian morality plays, previously owned in Bury St Edmunds by the Oliver family and then by James Cobbes, might give some grounds for supposing that the *Castle* manuscript had descended to Macro's collection by the same route. It may indeed have done so; but there seems to be no other physical evidence that this was the case, and it may just as easily have come into Cox Macro's possession from another source.⁷²

* * * * *

The fairly recent arrival in institutional collections of two of the items that once formed parts of Macro MS 5 has enabled us to make some progress in reconstructing what was, from about the middle of the eighteenth century down to c. 1836, a composite volume of some complexity; and it has allowed us to shed more light on the earlier provenance of some, but not all of its constituent parts. It is however unlikely that further progress can be made until much more is known about the formation and composition of Cox Macro's manuscript collections as a whole, an area in which a great deal of work remains to be done. A necessary first step would be a full transcription of John Wilson's inventories of all Macro's collections at Little Haugh as they existed in 1766, which would have the additional virtue of revealing much more than we know at the moment of the range and nature of his interests. The section of Wilson's listings devoted to the manuscripts could then profitably be compared to the printed catalogue of the large body Macro manuscripts that John Patteson put up for sale in 1820, and discrepancies between the two lists, occasioned either by losses from the collection as a whole or by the retention of some manuscripts by Patteson at the time, could be more fully investigated. Though we are clear about which sections of the Macro collection came into Hudson Gurney's possession in 1821, and which into Dawson Turner's, the whereabouts of many items (especially miscellaneous volumes of early modern historical papers) are difficult, if not impossible to trace. Both Turner and Gurney themselves broke up and rearranged some of the Macro manuscripts, and many more of them were broken down and their constituent parts re-sold piecemeal by the booksellers and dealers who bought most of them at the Turner sale of 1859, and the Gurney sales of 1936 and 1940.⁷³ It is probably fair to say that Macro's

⁷² Gail Gibson has suggested to me that another entry in John Wilson's 1766 catalogue of Cox Macro's manuscripts possibly refers to an early play manuscript that ought also to be mentioned in this context, even if (on the face of it) it has no direct relevance to Macro MS 5. The first item among the Quartos (which stands immediately after Wilson's account of what became MS 5 in the 1820 sale) is described as follows: '1. Miscellanies. An Interlude—a treatise ab^l. K. Charles y^e 1st.—A letter from y^e Devil to y^e Pope, & sev^l. other Letters & Tracts' (Leeds, Brotherton Library, Special Collections MS 295 (V), p. 16). No volume answering this description appears in the catalogue of the 1820 Macro sale, so it was presumably not included in the sale. Its present whereabouts are unknown, and unfortunately Wilson's description of it is mostly imprecise. The only part of it that can be identified with some confidence is the letter from the Devil to the Pope, best known from its inclusion in Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*, which first emerged in Lollard circles during the late fourteenth century, and was later taken up by Protestant reformers in the early sixteenth; for further references and a transcript of a variant version see J. Fines, 'An Unnoticed Tract of the Tyndale-More Dispute?', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 42 (1969), 220–30. A fifteenth century copy appears in Oxford, Bodleian, Digby MS 98, and a late sixteenth century printed text in STC 21769.

⁷³ Some, but not all of the Macro manuscripts were identified in the catalogue of the Turner sale, *Catalogue of the Manuscript Library of the Late Dawson Turner Esq.* (London, 1859); for the 1936

manuscript collection is now so far subdivided and scattered that it will never be possible to reconstruct it in full, and that a number of institutional libraries and some private collectors are unaware of a Macro episode in the provenance of the items they own.⁷⁴ As we have seen, a number of Macro manuscripts that were not part of the 1820 sale, but which appear in Wilson's 1766 list, are now in institutional collections, but it seems quite likely that yet others are still in existence, in collections that are uncatalogued, or in private hands.⁷⁵

Identifying and examining as many as possible of Cox Macro's manuscripts in those places where they have come to rest in modern collections is a necessary preliminary to building up a picture of how his collection was formed. A significant segment of it, comprising manuscripts formerly owned by James Cobbes, has gradually been revealed in recent years, but Macro had many other acquaintances, associates and correspondents in his circle, some of whom, such as Osmund Beauvoir and Thomas Tanner, are known to have supplied him with additions to his collection.⁷⁶ A large quantity of early modern historical and antiquarian papers that had formerly belonged to Sir Henry Spelman (c. 1562–1641) evidently arrived in Macro's hands at some point in a loose and disordered state, and he had them bound up, rather haphazardly, in a series of folio volumes. Those that descended to Hudson Gurney were still largely intact when W. D. Macray calendared their contents for the Historical Manuscripts Commission in 1891, but, as indicated above, they were mostly broken up after the Gurney sale of 1936. Macro also had two medieval manuscripts that had formerly been owned by Spelman, the cartulary of Blackborough, a nunnery in Norfolk, and part of one of the fifteenth century registers of the abbey at Bury St Edmunds, as mentioned above.⁷⁷ These items must have left Spelman's collection before the main dispersal of his manuscripts at two sales in London during the winter of 1709–10, where many of the lots went to major collectors whose manuscripts are now the British Library and the Bodleian (under the Harley, Lansdowne, Sloane, Stowe and Rawlinson shelfmarks), while a significant number became part of the Marquess of Bath's collection at Longleat.⁷⁸ In addition, one of the early modern manuscripts formerly in Macro's possession (now Manchester, John Rylands Library MS Eng. 880) is marked 'E Bib. Spelmaniana Aug. 1702', which suggests that the great Norfolk antiquary's collections were already leaching away some years before the

Gurney sale see n. 22 above. A residue of Gurney printed books and a few more manuscripts were sold the Norwich auctioneer Sidney J. Starr on 28–9 May 1940; Norwich, NRO HMN 6/252, 770x1 includes a copy of the sale catalogue.

⁷⁴ See for example n. 53 above.

⁷⁵ See n. 16 above. Moore, *Dutch and Flemish Painting in Norfolk*, pp. 123–7, cites Cox Macro's manuscript catalogues of his art collections, now in Norwich Castle Museum.

⁷⁶ In 1722 Tanner, for example, gave to Macro the important fourteenth century register of Glastonbury Abbey that is now British Library Additional MS 22934; he was clearly familiar with Macro's collections, and Macro manuscripts are cited occasionally in both the *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica* and *Notitia Monastica*. For Beauvoir see n. 12 above.

⁷⁷ See n. 13 above, and A. J. Collins, 'The Blackborough Chartulary and the Library of Sir Henry Spelman', *British Museum Quarterly*, 11 (1937), 63–5.

⁷⁸ See Collins, loc. cit., and K. Harris, 'An Augustan Episode in the History of the Collection of Medieval Manuscripts at Longleat House', in *The English Medieval Book*, ed. A. S. G. Edwards et al. (London, 2000), pp. 233–47. The compilers of the 1820 sale catalogue of the Macro manuscripts exaggerated Spelman's contribution to the collection (a point that soon became apparent to Dawson Turner when he examined it), and as a result some manuscripts known to have been Macro's are groundlessly said to have come from Spelman, MS Rouse 51 being a case in point; see Sotheby's sale catalogue, 8 December 1981, lot 78. Dawson Turner's remarks on this issue are in a letter to Hudson Gurney dated 10 May 1821, Norwich, Norfolk RO, MC2847 N1/12.

London sales.⁷⁹ Several lists of Spelman's manuscripts exist: Norfolk RO, MS 7198, ff. 104–5 (which is in his own hand); British Library, Harley MS 7579, ff. 87–90; those in the printed sale catalogues, *Bibliotheca Selectissima: being the Library of the late Sir Edmund King . . . Also the Library of . . . Sir H[enry] S[pelman]*, 28 November 1709, followed by a further sale of unsold lots, *Bibliotheca Selectissima: Pars altera: being the Remainder of the Library of that Eminent and Learned Antiquary Sir H. S.*, both of which are exiguous as to description, and sometimes inaccurate; and finally (of special importance), a well informed descriptive list compiled by Humphrey Wanley at the time of the 1709 sale, British Library MS Harley 7055, ff. 232–8. So far as it can be taken, collation of these sources suggests that none of the medieval manuscripts in Macro's collection came from the early eighteenth century public dispersal of Spelman's library; but a thorough investigation of this point must await the transcription of these lists.⁸⁰

Appendix A: Robert, Margaret and Thomas Oliver.

The Oliver family of Bury St Edmunds are the earliest known post-medieval owners of at least two, and possibly all three of the morality play manuscripts that once comprised parts of Macro MS 5, and something of their circumstances and connections may be inferred from their wills, which are given in full below. Robert Oliver (d. 1570), was a fairly wealthy goldsmith, and the extent of his property, which he left in its entirety to his wife Margaret (d. 1577), is indicated in her quite detailed will of 1576. The family occupied a substantial property on the north side of Cook Row, in the centre of Bury, consisting of shops, a dwelling, and other ancillary buildings. It lay in St James's parish, at the lower end of what is now known as Abbeygate Street, opposite the great gate of the Benedictine abbey, one of the few features of the extensive monastic complex that remains intact today. Margaret Oliver evidently continued in her husband's goldsmith's business, whilst herself practising as a surgeon and apothecary in the town.⁸¹ At her death the property in Cook Row (Abbeygate Street) was divided between her two sons, who were also left other tenements and shops elsewhere in Bury, and in Newmarket. She also bequeathed instruments and other equipment pertaining to her practice as a surgeon and apothecary to her elder son Thomas, whilst the younger, Roger, received the goldsmith's tools that she herself had inherited from her husband. It appears that the one was expected to continue the medical practice, and the other to continue running

⁷⁹ See *Catalogue of a Selected Portion of the Valuable Library and Collection of Manuscripts. . . of Major Q. E. Gurney*, sub lot 80, and cf. Collins, 'Blackborough Chartulary', p. 63.

⁸⁰ I am most grateful to Ralph Hanna for the opportunity to consult reproductions of these items, and for valuable notes as to the present whereabouts of many of the Spelman manuscripts.

⁸¹ Statham, *Accounts of the Feoffees of the Town Lands of Bury St Edmunds*, pp. lxxv, 20, 362.

the family business. The family were of a traditional religious outlook, and were evidently aligned with the guildhall feoffees and the governors of the grammar school, the dominant conservative faction in the town, who, until the 1580s, were effectively Bury's governing oligarchy.⁸²

Little more is heard of Roger Oliver, but a certain amount of miscellaneous information survives concerning the life and work of Thomas Oliver, who, as well as engaging in medical practice at Bury, also took a wide and varied interest in other scientific and intellectual pursuits (particularly mathematics and geometry), and published a number of learned treatises. He was educated at Bury Grammar School, with which he retained strong links throughout his life, and went on to study at Christ's College, Cambridge. The date of his matriculation, November 1569, suggests that he had probably been born around 1552–3.⁸³ Later in life he was styled at different times 'Master' and 'Doctor', but no record appears to exist as to whether he took a medical degree at Cambridge (or possibly abroad), or whether he obtained from Cambridge a licence to practice medicine. The notes of his dated 1571, preserved in the Rouse manuscript described above, were most probably made during his time at Cambridge, and they clearly indicate that he was engaged in medical studies. The interest they evince in Paracelsian, astrological and alchemical medicine further suggest that he was looking beyond the traditional Galenic medical syllabus offered by the University, and venturing into new areas that were both fashionable and controversial at the time; his notes taken from Severinus's exposition of the Paracelsian system were made in the same year as the book was published.⁸⁴

Thomas Oliver evidently enjoyed the status of a learned man in Bury. Books were left to him in wills, and he in turn gave books to the grammar school.⁸⁵ The donors' book of the school library records that he gave three books in 1595, all of which survive to this day in their original bindings. Two of them, a polyglot Bible and a Euclid, bear his inscriptions on the title pages, consisting of encouraging verses, in both Greek and Latin, addressed to the young scholars for whom they were intended, together his personal inscription: 'Thomas Oliuerius Buriensis Philiatros [*lover of learning*] Schola Buriensis cuius olim alumnus dono dedit Anno 1595 Martij 12'. The third gift, a two-volume set of Aristotle's works as edited by Erasmus (Basle, 1539), contains his extensive marginal annotations, mostly (like the text) in Greek, with additional notes and page references in his hand in side the back cover.⁸⁶ Later, in his will, Oliver bequeathed other books to the school library: a Greek thesaurus, another

⁸² J. Craig, *Reformation, Politics and Polemics: The Growth of Protestantism in East Anglian Market Towns, 1500–1610* (Aldershot, 2001), pp. 72–114.

⁸³ J. and J. A. Venn, *Alumnae Cantabrigiensis . . . From the earliest times to 1751* (Cambridge, 1922), Vol. 1, Part 3, p. 280. The normal age of matriculation at Cambridge University in this period was fifteen or sixteen; see D. R. Leader, *A History of the University of Cambridge: vol. 1 The University to 1546* (Cambridge, 1988), p. 36.

⁸⁴ For the general background to Oliver's studies see the chapters by A. Chapman, 'Astrological Medicine', and C. Webster, 'Alchemical and Paracelsian Medicine', in C. Webster (ed.), *Health, Medicine and Mortality in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1979), pp. 275–300, 301–334; 'Medical Practitioners' by M. Pelling and C. Webster, pp. 165–235 in the same volume, contains much information on medical practice in East Anglia during Oliver's time.

⁸⁵ For details of bequests of books to Oliver see Craig, *Reformation, Politics and Polemics*, p. 116, n. 211.

⁸⁶ Cambridge, University Library, Bury 5. 9, Bury 9.5, and Bury 1.12–13. For the donors' book, see CUL Add. MS 7936, p. 3.

Aristotle, Plato in Greek, a five-volume set of Galen's writings in Greek, and 'the Cambridge Dictionarie with my Treatise *De ponderibus et mensuris*'.⁸⁷

During his lifetime Oliver published books in both Latin and English. *A New Handling of the Planisphere*, describing the use of an instrument resembling an astrolabe, was published in London in 1601 (STC 18810), and soon afterwards, in 1604, John Legat, the University printer in Cambridge, issued a collection of four short scientific treatises (*De Sophismatum Praestigijs* etc., STC 18809) by 'Thomae Oliverij Buriensis philiatri'. Dedications to contemporary Cambridge scholars in the latter suggest that he retained connections in learned circles in the University, and the book may have attracted some interest, as it was reprinted on the Continent, at Frankfurt, the following year. Other writings attributed to him remained have also survived in manuscript form.⁸⁸

In addition to his professional and intellectual accomplishments, Thomas Oliver would also have been well known in Bury as an overt and persistent adherent to Catholicism. His name appears regularly on the recusant rolls of the 1590s, and he suffered under the financial exactions and restrictions on his movements imposed by the anti-Catholic legislation that had been introduced in the previous decade.⁸⁹ The name of his first wife, who died in 1599, seems not to have been recorded, but something is known of his family life thereafter, since he married for a second time into a prominent recusant family in Essex, the Fortescues of Faulkbourne.⁹⁰ His second wife, Elizabeth (or Isabel) Fortescue, was the widow of Sir Edmund Fortescue of Faulkbourne, near Chelmsford, and the records of the justices of the peace in the town give a glimpse of Oliver's way of life in 1605. The justices noted that the parson and churchwardens of Faulkbourne

Doe presente that there is and hath byn a gentlewoman in their parrishe abowte fower or five monethes, that is a Recusante, and hath never since her cominge to their parrishe come to their Churche to divine servis, w^{ch} gentlewoman's name is Mis^{ris}. Izabell Olyver, wief of M^r. Doctor Olyver of Berry in Suffolk, who is alsoe a Recusante, confyned or bounded as they here to be abowte Berry, cominge onely

⁸⁷ See below. The five-volume set of Galen's works in Greek that Oliver bequeathed to the school library (CUL Bury 10.3–7) is of special interest; still in the white pigskin binding that he mentions in his will, the books bear the earlier marks of ownership of Martin Bucer and Thomas Cranmer. Oliver read them with some attention, numbering the sections as he went along, writing a digest of the contents of each volume on its fore-edge, and occasionally adding marginal comments (his are those in pale grey ink).

⁸⁸ There is a copy of the Frankfurt edition of *De sophismatum* etc. in the library of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge (M.2.9); by his will Oliver left his personal copies of both the Cambridge and Frankfurt editions of the book to his stepdaughter, Isabel Fortescue. London, British Library MS Harley 4626 contains two other treatises attributed to Oliver, 'Tabula longitudinum et latitudinum locorum memorabilium in Europa', and 'Mechanica circuli quadratura equitatione cubi et sphaerae'.

⁸⁹ See the transcriptions of the recusant rolls for 1592–96 published in the *Catholic Record Society*, 18 (1916), 310; 57 (1965), 158; 61 (1969–70), 88, 92, 94–6, 223. In 1593–4 Oliver and his tenants were said ('by virtue of the Act') to be indebted to the crown in the sum of £140.

⁹⁰ The burial of an 'Uxor Thomae Olyfer' is recorded in the parish register of St James's church in Bury on 9 February 1599; *St James' Parish Registers. Burials 1562–1800*, p. 36. For the Fortescues, see J. H. Round, 'The Descent of Faulkbourne', *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society*, NS 15 (1920), 35–59, and, for Oliver's connection, pp. 57–8.

nowe and then to his said wief by license accordinge to lawe, as he
saieth . . .⁹¹

Oliver also seems to have been well connected in other high-status recusant circles: the first treatise in his *De Sophismatum* was dedicated to no less a personage than the learned Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, James I's principal minister at the time, and a noted crypto-Catholic, whilst the head of another prominent Catholic family, Lord Petre of Ingastone, was to be his principal executor. Oliver died towards the end of 1610, aged 48 or thereabouts. His will, which he began by boldly bequeathing his soul 'into the handes of my sweete Saviour Jhesus Christe, and the protection of his blessed mother the most holie and perpetuall virgin Marie, my continuall Patronesse', was dated 7–8 November of that year, and probate was granted on 3 December. He had by this time two young daughters by his second wife, Dorothy and Margaret; Dorothy, the elder, went on (as we have seen) to marry James Cobbes, probably bringing with her the manuscripts of her father that were later to pass from her husband's collection into Cox Macro's.⁹²

Appendix B

'James Cobbes of Bury St Edmunds (c. 1602–1685) and his Manuscripts': Addenda and Corrigenda.

The following notes are intended to supplement the lists of manuscripts, either owned or written by James Cobbes, which were included in the article published under the above title in 2004.⁹³ Of the items there listed, two were described as untraced, but with the advent of on-line catalogues and other searching aids in the meantime, their whereabouts have since come to light:

(p. 436) 'Seneca's Tragedies, with commentary, the first and last quires missing, small folio, vellum, probably English, s. xv. Macro sale 6, Gurney sale 195'.

This manuscript is now Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, MS Codex 77. It is certainly of English provenance, the handwriting being a variety of anglicana formata, datable to around the middle of the fourteenth century.⁹⁴ Cobbes provided one of his characteristic 'title-pages' giving information about the contents, signed 'Ja. Co.

⁹¹ Session roll of the Justices of the Peace, Chelmsford, certificate by Richard, Bishop of London, 6 April 1605, of persons presented to him for not coming to church within the county of Essex; *Historical Manuscripts Commission. Tenth Report, Appendix, Part IV* (London, 1885), p. 488.

⁹² Oliver's will provided that his goods and chattels were to be enjoyed by his wife during her lifetime, and then to pass to his daughters. He also had a son, Charles, by his first marriage, with whom he was on bad terms, characterizing him as a profligate and making relatively scant provision for him in the will; he was probably the 'Charles Oliver, gentleman' who died in Bury in 1649 (*St James' Parish Registers. Burials 1562–1800*, p. 105).

⁹³ See n. 34 above.

⁹⁴ The commentary (as Ralph Hanna has pointed out to me) is that of Nicholas Trevet, and is most commonly found in Italian manuscripts of Seneca; see Ruth J. Dean, 'Cultural Relations in the Middle Ages: Nicholas Trevet and Nicholas Prato', *Studies in Philology* 45 (1948), 541–64.

1646'. The online catalogue description does not at present (2016) refer to the Cobbes–Macro–Gurney provenance:
<http://hdl.library.upenn.edu/1017/d/medren/1545599>.

(p. 437) 'Untraced: Phillipps 14838.

Notes on the Life of Phalaris, Tiran of Agrigentum, by Ja. Co.; also of Alexander the false Prophete, translated out of Lutian, by J. Co. (Turner sale 103). Similarly described in the privately printed catalogue of the Phillipps manuscripts, as a quarto containing 'James Cobbe's Life of Phalaris, Alexander the False Prophet, translated out of Lucian by J. Cobbe'.

Now New Haven, Yale University, Beineke Library MS Osborn b11. The online catalogue description at present records W. W. Greg as a previous owner, but does not note the Turner–Phillipps provenance; it is one of the Cobbes manuscripts that did not come into Cox Macro's possession:

discover.odai.yale.edu/ydc/Record/3465650.

Apart from the two booklets of Cobbes's that became parts of Macro MS 5, as described above, which were later broken up to form parts of MSS Folger V.a.354 and UCLA Rouse 51, the following items also owned by Cobbes have also been noticed since 2004:

St Andrews, University of St Andrews Library, Special Collections MS 38176.

A collection of about twelve alchemical treatises, some including diagrams, s. xiv, contents listed on an added flyleaf by J[ames] C[obbes], dated 6 March 1651. Macro sale 23, Gurney sale 152. See the online catalogue description, where the Macro–Gurney provenance is noted, but not (at present) Cobbes's ownership: st-andrews.ac.uk/library/specialcollections/collections/archives/themanuscriptcollections/chemistrypapers/.

Chapel Hill, NC, University of North Carolina Library, MS 522.

A substantial miscellany containing many astronomical and mathematical treatises dating from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century, compiled at the Dominican priory at Thetford, s. xv. Identifications of the contents and other notes added in Cobbes's hand. Macro sale 17, Gurney Sale 76; for further details see M. P. Kuczynski, 'Another Medieval Scientific Manuscript Owned and Annotated by James Cobbes', *Notes & Queries*, NS 59 (2012), 160–2.⁹⁵

⁹⁵ I am grateful to Michael Kuczynski for the loan of a microfilm of this manuscript. It contains no evidence to support the unsubstantiated claim, made in the Sotheby's *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts and Miniatures*, 7 December 1982, lot 52, p. 53, that it came from the library of Sir Henry Spelman.

New Haven, Yale University, Beineke Library, Mellon MS 37.

An abridged English translation, dated 1556, of John de Rupescissa's, *De consideratione quinte essentie*, with a description added by Cobbes on a flyleaf; for further details see n. 53 above. Macro sale 24, Gurney sale 142.

Washington DC, National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Libraries, Dibner MS 6.

John de Sacrobosco, *De Sphaera, Secretum Philosophorum*, illustrated, and other shorter texts in Latin and English, including an unnoticed Middle English lyric, s.xv in., with description of contents by Cobbes on a flyleaf, dated 1637. This manuscript was lot 21 in catalogue of the Macro sale of 1820, and though it then (presumably) passed into Hudson Gurney's possession in 1821, it does not appear to have been included amongst the Gurney manuscripts sold in 1936 and 1940 (see notes 22 and 73 above).⁹⁶

Untraced.

John Wilson's 1766 catalogue of Cox Macro's collections (see n. 7 above) includes, as item 84 (*bis*) among the Folios, the following description of a manuscript formerly owned by Cobbes:

84 Taxatio bonorum Spiritualium Archidiaconatus Suffolciae et Sudburiensis. Copiata per Registrum in Scaccario Domini Regis. A small folio wrote out on parchm, very ancient, & once belonged to James Cobbes. there are also some transcripts of old Grants in it.⁹⁷

It was evidently one of the five manuscripts lent, in 1775, by Macro's daughter Mary Staniforth (as by then she was) to the Rev. Osmund Beauvoir, who mentioned it in a letter to A. C. Ducarel. Like the Bury Abbey register that Beauvoir borrowed at the same time (now BL Add. 7096) it did not return to the Macro library, and now seems to be lost sight of.⁹⁸

⁹⁶ The manuscript is accompanied by a well-considered description by Derek J. Price, dated 19 October 1956, made whilst it was in the possession of R. D. Gurney Ltd., book dealers, of 23 Camden St., London, who shortly afterwards sold it to Bern Dibner. In a letter to Dibner dated 29 October 1956 R. D. Gurney says he has 'just bought' the manuscript. I am again grateful to Michael Kuczynski for sending me a note of these details.

⁹⁷ Leeds, Brotherton Library, Special Collections MS 295 (V), p. 15.

⁹⁸ See notes 12 and 13 above; 'Taxatio Bonorum et Spiritualium Archidiaconatus Suff. et Sudbur. copiata per Registrum in S'cc'o Domini Regis. Liber membran. in quo desunt duo folia ad finem. Taxatio est Nicholai Quarti, 1292', in Beauvoir's account of it (Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes*, loc. cit.). The text would have consisted of that which was later printed (from a fifteenth century Exchequer copy in the Public Records) in the *Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae auctoritate P. Nicholai circa A. D. 1291* (London: Records Commission, 1802), pp. 115–23.

